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ABSTRACT

The argument of this book is that "educational reform" will remain an impossible dream until the relationship between the public schools and the larger society undergoes a basic readjustment. We Americans need to recognize their interdependence, and we need to consider just how long we can ask the public schools to change the social order in ways which we as a people apparently find unpalatable. The wisdom of changing the social order is not the issue, only the unrealistic expectation that schools can do the job along. We begin this book with an examination of the social role of the modern public school in the larger society. Chapters 3 and 4 examine superintendents and their training, respectively. Chapter 5 enters the closed circle of graduate training. Chapter 6 explains how the discontent with graduate training developed into a special kind of training, which we call Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN, and Chapter 7 examines a "typical" networking session. We see the Superintendents' Network as something of a prototype for a national network of educational reform, which would involve mayors, civic leaders, educators, and representatives of all the organizations that impinge on the public schools and make them what they are. Chapter 8 looks ahead to the day when interdependence is recognized. (Author/JM)

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The Urban School Superintendent of the Future

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By
John Merrow, Richard Foster, and Nolan Estes

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To Marcus Foster

PREFACE

The events leading to the writing and publication of this book began with the involvement of two of the authors, Nolan Estes and Richard Foster, in the development of an approach to re-education, or self-training, for urban superintendents. Both are experienced school administrators. As the book itself makes clear, the modern superintendency requires full attention, often more hours than there are in the day. The responsibility for explaining the Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN was given to John Merrow, a writer on education whose doctoral dissertation examined the role of the U.S. Office of Education in teacher training, including the TTT (Training for Teacher Trainers) Program, a forerunner of the systematized interaction of the Superintendents' Network.

Without the assistance of Dr. Eugene E. Slaughter, Director of the Oklahoma-Texas TTT Project at Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma, this book could not have been written. We have benefited from the editorial suggestions of Harold Cohen, Jack Culbertson, Norman Drachler, L. D. Haskew, Harold Howe II, George Kaplan, H. Thomas James, William L. Smith, Dustin Wilson and especially A. Bruce Gaarder, J. N. Hook, Richard W. Lid, and Seymour Sarason.

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FOREWORD

By Seymour B. Sarason

This is an important book for anyone who is interested in new directions in education or concerned about the disease of professionalism. Its importance resides not only in its topics or substance but in the fact that two of its authors, Richard Foster and Nolan Estes, have been among the most controversial, innovative, and successful school superintendents I have known, an opinion shared by practically everyone who has known or worked with them. They have been controversial precisely because they have been innovative and outspoken, and they have been successful because they have been able to power their clear conceptualizations and explicit values with courage, interpersonal skills, and an unusual degree of fairness and administrative sophistication. They are not missionary zealots or muckraking muddleheads who, espousing the latest version of virtue and truth, manage to heighten polarizations and turn battles into wars. They are realists without being conformists, leaders who lead rather than public opinion pollers seeking to know what public mood they should follow.

So when two people like these, together with a younger, very knowledgeable educator, John Merrow, describe the present scene, it is not surprising that we get a book remarkable for its candor and recommendations which, I should hastily add, reflect an on-going "program" based on the concept of "networking." Most simply stated (and described in detail in later chapters of this book) networking is based on the *fact* that schools interrelate with other social systems and community forces, and on the *value* that educational policy and practice must involve these different groups — indeed to "co-opt" them for the purpose of broadening the base of community support for the improvement of everyone's educational experience.

It follows from these considerations that a superintendent of schools can no longer think only in terms of his school system, i.e., that he has much in common with other superintendents and that to the extent they can learn to share with each other their problems, dilemmas, and tactics they increase the chances that their problem solving efforts will be more productive. The aim is not, God forbid, to produce another guild but rather to use their "network" to implement more effectively agreed-upon values. It is for mutual education, not for mutual protection or for feathering the professional nest. As the first part of this book makes clear, and gives such force to the second part, today's education *for* the superintendency is irrelevant to what that role is in "real life." Someone once said that the Beethoven violin concerto was not for the violin, it was against it. Similarly, education or training for the superintendency is against rather than for effective performance. We should be grateful that this irrelevancy has been described and analyzed by our authors in a systematic fashion.

Obviously, the educational establishment in our universities is not going to like this book, but they cannot base their objections either on the authors' inexperience, or failures, or bitterness. The authors are saying no more and no less than I have heard from countless superintendents with whom I have worked. The emperor is not only naked but probably suffering from a dreaded terminal disease, and we had better start thinking about what we want from a new regime. This is what the authors help us do with refreshingly simple clarity.

The problems, dilemmas, and self-defeating practices discussed in this book are not peculiar to the field of education. Make no mistake about it, all professions in our society suffer from professional preciousness and imperialism with headquarters in our universities. But I am not blaming our universities. They reflect the larger society. We have all colluded, unwittingly, in producing this age of specialization which has resulted in so many artificial discontinuities in our knowledge and its applications. We have met the enemy and it is us. This book is about our culture and how we see it in the field of education.

I cannot refrain from some words about an individual whose name appears from time to time in this thought-provoking book. He was and is a federal "bureaucrat," whom I first met in 1966. He was spending most of his time traveling around the country trying to find ways of breaking down the barriers between schools and educators, on the one hand, and the rest of society, on the other hand. By temperament and training (a professional historian) he was not disposed to accept compartmentalization of knowledge and specialization of practice — at least not to the point where it obviously adversely affected the quality of the educational experience. How do you "open up" the system? How do you get interrelated groups and systems to focus on their commonalities rather than their guild-determined differences? These were the questions he was trying to get out on the table, and being a "fed" he had to be judicious, which he not always was (to his eternal credit). Many people were annoyed by him, less because of his forthrightness and more because of his challenge to traditional practices and concepts. For example, he once had the courage to appear before a committee of the House of Representatives and argue the point (in the context of a budgetary request) that there was nothing special about special education and that any program which widened the gulf between special and the rest of education was doing a disservice to both. The committee chairman did not take kindly to these ideas (the pendulum is now swinging the other way), and within a week this "bureaucrat" was given other responsibilities.

I have always fantasied myself as the first Perry Mason Professor of Psychology and so it is not surprising that I should hypothesize a connection between his congressional appearance and his shift in responsibility.

Donald N. Bigelow—his efforts, ideas, and courage—has helped make this book possible. In expressing my personal gratitude to the authors for writing an important book—a contribution not only to education but to the literature on professions in our society—I acknowledge my appreciation of an embattled public servant who should take solace from the fact that what he fought for is now "open" to public scrutiny.

Seymour B. Sarason
Yale University

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Imagine 25 or so school superintendents in a room. What are they doing? What are they talking about? The answer depends on the occasion, of course; if they are at a convention, the talk may be of golf, difficult school board members, or school vandalism. If they happen to be enrolled in an in-service class, they may be talking about the instructor's foibles, or they may be swapping fables about their own academic pasts. When the conversation turns to professional matters, those school superintendents may discuss ways of spending less money more slowly, of working with militant teacher organizations, or of measuring educational progress.

Those 25 or so school superintendents will be a fairly homogeneous group. Most will be white males, most will be between 40 and 50 years old, and most will have served as teachers and principals. Few of the 25 will have been in their present positions for more than six or seven years, and all will be vividly aware of their tenuous hold on the job.

In fact, survival—not getting fired *and* doing a good job—will be a popular topic of conversation, as the superintendents swap stories about others who have moved (or have been moved) elsewhere. What happens when a superintendent leaves his job? Most likely, he goes (older and perhaps a bit wiser) to another superintendency. If he is approaching retirement age, he may go to a nearby college of education and teach others how to superintend.

There is a missing thread in the make-believe (but nonetheless real) conversation that takes place in that room full of superintendents. What is missing is a dynamic organizing principle, a mechanism to stimulate personal and professional growth and to permit the development of what ought to be called "survival skills." Neither conventions nor conventional in-service training fill the vacuum.

We think "networking" can provide that missing thread. We think "networking" can provide that essential developmental process (which we call, for want of a better word, training). And we think that "networking" is a step—perhaps not a big step, but nonetheless an important one—toward the recognition of the interdependence of school and society that must precede meaningful educational reform.

The argument of this book is that "educational reform" will remain an impossible dream until the relationship between the public schools and the larger society undergoes a basic readjustment. We Americans need to recognize their interdependence, and we need to consider just how long we can ask the public schools to change the social order in ways which we as a people apparently find unpalatable. The wisdom of changing the social order is not the issue, only the unrealistic expectation that schools can do the job alone.

Faced with inconsistent yet insistent demands, school superintendents cannot long survive, the book also argues, unless they band together in some way and learn to look for answers to their problems outside the closed circle of professional training. Training—the word itself and all that it implies—is part of the problem. Rarely does professional training actually prepare people for the job; they learn on the job itself, or perhaps in an internship or apprenticeship. (We are writing about school administrators here, but the observation probably holds for doctors, lawyers, journalists, and plumbers.) The school superintendent who recognizes the inadequacy of his training invariably looks for better training. Reform is usually planned in terms of "better" training. Both processes amount to chasing one's tail.

"My training wasn't adequate; please give me better training," is wishful thinking despite its apparent logic. While many claim to know a good superintendent of schools when they see one, no one has yet devised a training process to produce the model. The intervening steps (analysis of the characteristics of good superintendents and then recruitment and training to produce those characteristics) befuddle the well-intentioned process.

Ambitious reform programs end up with narrow aims precisely because those aims are achievable, and even if the programs achieve their aims, the products are not de facto better superintendents. A reform aimed at upgrading major departments of educational administration can do just that, a program to turn capable non-educators into educators can be successful, and a campaign to get minorities and women into the superintendency can achieve its goals—but none of them will necessarily be turning out better trained superintendents. The reformers haven't escaped from the closed box of training.

Neither have we, by the way. When we talk about training, we are using the word in the usual sense. But we are not proposing a "better" way of training in this book. We are talking instead about a "self-help" process of re-education that begins when superintendents band together. Perhaps in our next book we will have escaped that closed circle. Here we recognize the inadequacy of reforming what is not appropriate, and we are groping toward daylight.

Superintendents must band together, but that is not enough. (Every superintendent already belongs to a number of official organizations and unofficial networks.) They must also find a way to re-educate themselves, because graduate schools, in-service courses, and professional workshops simply do not provide the skills that modern school administrators must have just to survive.

The assassination of Oakland School Superintendent Marcus Foster illustrates tragically the truth of our thesis: the modern urban

school superintendent is in what amounts to a "no-win" situation. He is politically visible and publicly accountable, but not politically powerful; schools are asked to do more than they have the power to do; and superintendents have not been trained for the political responsibilities that an urban superintendency entails. Even a highly capable city school superintendent—which Marcus Foster was—is fighting a holding action against conditions over which he and the school system have no control: poverty, crime, drugs, "white flight," urban decay, municipal overburden, and reduced revenues. Increased demands for accountability and rising teacher and school board militancy put new pressures on the superintendent, who, since he wears the ringmaster's costume, ought at least to have the figurative equivalents of whip and pistol. In fact, the whip and pistol seem to be in other hands, the circus tent is on fire, and the audience is demanding a new ringmaster.

No metaphor can make the point as clearly as did the events of Tuesday, November 6, 1973, in Oakland, California, when Dr. Marcus Foster was shot to death by members of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Deputy Superintendent Robert Blackburn was seriously wounded in the same attack. Their assailants, who were armed with shotguns and pistols loaded with cyanide bullets, later wrote to a local newspaper and radio station: "Target Dr. Marcus Foster and Robert Blackburn. Warrant Order: execution by cyanide bullet."

The dynamic and talented Foster had been in Oakland for three years, during which time racial violence in the schools had all but disappeared. Before coming to Oakland, Foster, who was black, had been an assistant superintendent in Philadelphia.

Why was Marcus Foster murdered? Later statements from the Symbionese Liberation Army indicate that Foster had incurred the SLA's enmity by his support of a photo-identification card system for the Oakland Schools. ID cards would help police and school officials keep non-students out of the schools, and non-students are often the drug dealers. It may be that a climate of violence had been created in Oakland (and elsewhere) by white "romantics" accusing schools of "crimes against children," by black revolutionaries and a facile equation of ballots and bullets, and by our nation's misadventures in Southeast Asia. According to this theory, Marcus Foster had made a bargain with the ruling class and was no longer helping his people.

Whatever the tortured logic of assassins, Marcus Foster was not bargaining with the devil. He was working hard to make Oakland public schools safe for students and teachers, and hospitable for growth and learning. But Marcus Foster went into the struggle unarmed, or at least relatively so. At best, ID cards are a stopgap maneuver. Drugs are a social problem that the schools can never solve,

not by ID cards or drug education courses or any other step, unless the world outside is willing to take other, more forceful steps against the drugs themselves and the conditions that encourage them.

The romantic and revolutionary rhetoric is a product of our national over-dependence upon schools as agents of social reform. As long as we ask our schools to solve the *social* problems conveniently lumped under the heading "disadvantaged," the rhetoric will be heard. Schools simply cannot, as presently constituted, do all that they are asked to do.

We begin this book with an examination of the social role of the modern public school in the larger society. The modern public school is as much a social service agency as an educational one. We Americans hope that through the schools we can tackle our major social problems: hunger, disease, social maladjustment, misuse of drugs and alcohol, and inequality of opportunity.

We also hold schools to an unrealistic standard of decorum, and we tend not to accept conflict as normal human behavior. Finally, we want quality education but are unwilling to pay for it.

The superintendent is squarely in the middle of all this, nominally in charge of a world he does not control. Quite literally, the daily business of running a school system requires all his attention and energy. It's called "putting out brush fires," in the trade, and only the rare superintendent has the time and energy, whatever his mandate, for reforestation.

But who are the modern urban school superintendents? Are they all ex-football coaches and physical education teachers? Are the superintendents in the cities different from those in rural America? What kind of training has prepared them for the modern urban school superintendency? Chapters three and four examine superintendents and their training, respectively, and both subjects are important to our case.

We contend that most superintendents are not prepared, either by previous experience or training, for the responsibilities of the modern superintendency. Almost every American school superintendent came up the career ladder: teacher, principal, administrator and superintendent, and it is highly debatable whether any of these roles can be considered training for the next higher post. As it works now, performing well in one position leads to eligibility for the next, but eligibility should not necessarily be equated with preparation. Seymour Sarason has observed that there is nothing in the isolated setting or responsibilities of the classroom teacher that can be called preparation for the principalship. That observation holds true for higher positions on the career ladder.

The available training in educational administration doesn't seem to be much help either. Almost all training is provided by ex-school administrators turned professors. Chapter four also focuses on 20 years of reform energy (and money) and what those years have meant to most of 350-odd departments* of educational administration. In a word, growth.

Chapter five enters the closed circle of graduate training. That chapter's evidence alone, in our judgment, proves the need for a new organization for the re-education of superintendents. The departments of educational administration — except the very best of them—turn inward by design. Ex-superintendents become professors and proceed to turn ambitious principals and teachers into certified, employable school superintendents. And, as the data show, almost everybody—professors and superintendents alike—has been satisfied with the process.

A few were not satisfied, though. Chapter Six explains how the discontent bubbled to the surface and developed into a special kind of training, which we call the Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN, and Chapter Seven examines a "typical" networking session. These two chapters are central to the book, because we see the Superintendents' Network as something of a prototype for a National Network of Educational Reform, which would involve mayors, civic leaders, educators, and representatives of all the organizations that impinge upon the public schools and make them what they are.

Our central thesis is that no worthwhile, significant school reform is possible until it is generally recognized that the schools are controlled by and interdependent with other social systems. Schools can be changed only through the intensive involvement of those other systems. Further, superintendents must equip themselves for their newly politicized positions, and the governing systems whose actions affect the schools, directly and indirectly, must allow the schools to participate in their councils of power. It is not enough for a superintendent to be capable, if the municipal decision-making process does not give him the power to bring about change.

Social and school problems are not amenable to solution by only the school board and the school superintendent. Nor will the addition of courses to the curriculum solve great social problems, although that is precisely what has been attempted in an effort to reduce traffic deaths, divorce, and drug abuse. Courses in driver education, marriage and the family, and drug abuse education are small monuments

*They are called a department or a school, depending chiefly on their size and independence.

to the insufficiency of our political leadership, or perhaps to our general unwillingness to accept the interrelatedness of our social system. We think the Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN are steps toward the re-education of school administrators and a readjustment of the relationship among the schools and other social systems.

Chapter Eight looks ahead to the day when interdependence is recognized. In that chapter, we discuss a direction for the Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN, we present some models for preparing administrators, and we speculate on the urban superintendent of the future. We call that final chapter "Imagining the Future," and not "Predictions," because there are constraints that cannot be dismissed or overcome by a book. The larger problem is the American attitude toward public schools. The immediate problem is the survival of the superintendents. Just to survive, he must overcome his limited experience and inadequate training (plus a few other handicaps). Even before beginning that struggle, he must discover how pervasive the problems are, and he must learn that many other superintendents also feel the agony of trying to cope with insurmountable problems and contradictory pressures. We hope this book can move superintendents and good citizens everywhere toward awareness, and we hope, too, that it will contribute to the dialogue about public education in the United States.

> . . . schools are not modest, single-purpose organizations aimed at inculcating specific skills. They are increasingly ambitious organizations with complex and often conflicting functions: they are supposed to inculcate civic virtue, to teach basic skills universally, to keep the streets clear and homes happy by keeping children occupied six or seven hours a day, and to recognize merit and promote equality.[1]

We Americans cling to certain beliefs about our public schools. We like to believe that public schools are preparing our children for a better day, but we won't allow much deviation from yesterday. "What was good enough for me," we say. We like to think that schools are neutral and above politics, although they are neither. We imagine schools as preparation for life, but we don't want our children to hold opinions and beliefs that contradict our own. We Americans want our children to live in and perpetuate our democratic society, but we hardly mind that most schools deny their inhabitants the basic privileges of the Bill of Rights. And we use our schools as entry points for correcting the ills of the larger society, while insisting that schools remain conflict-free. Asked to be the single most important vehicle for desegregation of society, schools are also expected to "keep the lid on"; a fistfight on the school grounds often becomes a major racial clash in the newspapers and in the mind of the public.

The social cost of these contradictions is high and it includes a great toll from the schools themselves, and ultimately from our own faith in public schooling. We expect schools to be neutral, non-political, unchanging, modern, and quiet, all the while educating our young and correcting our social wrongs. We use our public schools to make the present disorder finite, allowing us to imagine an orderly, less complex future for our young. How deep the roots of these contradictions are is not clear. What is clear to schoolmen is that the role of the public school is difficult, and its future uncertain.

The superintendent is caught in the middle. He is brought up through the ranks: assistant principal, principal, and central office administrator. Often he is exposed to inadequate and outdated training: yesterday's courses in curriculum development, school administration theory, budgeting, counseling, and staff relations. He may study "conflict management," but he won't discover until he becomes a superintendent that conflict management actually means the suppression and elimination of trouble, as far as the general public is concerned. Only when he becomes a superintendent will he know just how "political" he must be, and how non-political he must appear to be.

The preservation of social stability has also been assigned to the schools. Kindergarten, compulsory education, and other reforms were not simply a beneficence showered upon the multitude; they were also insurance that the country and the labor market would not be overrun by a horde of illiterates, as non-English-speaking immigrants and the poor were often presumed to be. The reforms of the 1960's were different in degree in that they involved more children, and were different in kind in that the federal government took the initiative, paid most of the bills, and often tried to call the shots. Nonetheless, they were aimed at stabilizing the society, at reducing social conflict, and at social control.

Schools came under extreme pressure in the 1960's. The pressure began when the Brown decision of 1954 began to be implemented "with all deliberate speed," and it increased with the flight of Sputnik. (That clamor for improved education was mistranslated into retraining for teachers and curricular reform.) The rediscovery of poverty precipitated a flood tide of largely federal pressures to improve the lot of those who were labelled "disadvantaged." Schools became the major vehicle for social reform, and the major strategy, irrespective of the rhetoric, was to adapt the children to the schools, not the schools to the children.

The schooling experience has not changed drastically over the years. Today's fourth-graders are experiencing much the same structure that their parents and grandparents did: one teacher, 25-35 kids, recess, the Pledge of Allegiance, and the reinforcement of approved behavior patterns. Some things inside the school have changed, but the drastic changes have been outside the school. What goes on in the classroom is the school's reaction to the public's contradictory demands and its response to crisis. These outside changes are translated and neutralized — and thus made safe — before they are admitted to the classroom. Schools react to clamor for change just as most systems do: by trying to behave as if nothing were happening.

This is not to dismiss all reform efforts: some genuine desegregation is occurring, some curricular reforms are making schools more challenging, and in some places students have a degree of freedom and responsibility at least approximating those provided in the Bill of Rights. Nor are we saying that schools are hopelessly inflexible, authoritarian, racist institutions. The cliché that "the more things change, the more they remain the same" applies to the public schools because the pressure bewilders the schools. They don't understand the language, and they don't know how to cope with the sudden responsibility for leadership.

The Example of Memphis

In the last six years, the school system of one major American city has been buffeted by the assassination of a major political figure, a crippling municipal strike, a federal court order requiring massive busing of school children, large scale "white flight" to the outlying suburbs, racial confrontation, and a rising crime rate. The city is Memphis, Tennessee; the murdered leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. It could have been Los Angeles, New York, or Oakland, where Robert F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, and Marcus Foster were gunned down. But, more to the point, most major American cities lack only the tragedy of assassination to fit the description.

Desegregation, murder, crime, decay and the flight of the middle class define the major American cities in the public consciousness and, often, in reality. Those forces are also part of the reality of urban public school systems, which feel the same forces, but are even less equipped for life in the maelstrom.

Although no Memphis student fired the shot that killed Dr. King, and although it was sanitation workers and not teachers who were on strike, the school system was shaken by those events. So, too, do "white flight," drugs, and crime shake and shape the public school. The obvious point that outside events affect the school is recognized in individual psychology and in civics class. Teachers and guidance counselors are trained to look for the effects of domestic trouble, and so forth, on student behavior. Watergate, Southeast Asia, the resignation of Vice-President Agnew, and impeachment are discussion topics in secondary schools across the United States.

But they are topics for discussion, not calls for action, because of the schools' facility for cooling off urgent topics. The non-political/educational stance serves the classroom teacher well; students can discuss and debate so-called "relevant" topics, but action and commitment are reserved for outside the school. The truth of the generalization is proved by the exceptions: students and teachers whose political actions disrupt school meet severe disapproval. Public schools are not perceived by anyone as properly holding an institutional (or classroom by classroom) position on controversy, if disruption of the school is a consequence.

Schools also perpetuate the individualization and personification of events and forces. In mock elections students might express opinions on Presidential candidates, but never on the school board election or the mayoralty race. Guidance counselors discuss Mom's drinking problem or Dad's philandering, but not the frequency or causes of alcoholic mothers and unfaithful husbands.

The easy conclusion is that schools are irrelevant, but the safety valve — for that is what it is — of holding real and relevant problems at a distance may not deserve its present bad name. Students have limited power to reform campaign financing or end a war, and it may be that no one is served by acting as if the contrary were true.

The relevance of public schools is not the issue, which is, instead, the school's apparent inability to provide its constituents with the survival skills of reading, writing, and manipulation of numbers. Yet it is a naive perception that schools are "no longer able to teach," for when failure to read becomes endemic (as it is now), it can no longer be treated as the disease. It must be considered a symptom of an illness which lies outside the school grounds and is largely beyond the school's control.

The Burden on the School

Our political climate has never encouraged direct intervention, which would mean food for the hungry, medical care for the sick, and money for the poor, as the appropriate vehicle for righting social wrongs. Indirect intervention through the school long ago became public policy. The goal was "equal educational opportunity," which translated into an equal chance at the starting line in the race to achieve the American Dream. The fact that schools are but a weak reflection of the society which controls them was largely overlooked.

That public policy meant a double burden on American public schools: a large corrective function ("breaking the poverty cycle") and the challenge to make good on the generally accepted assertion that schooling was correlated with adult success. *Equality of Educational Opportunity* and *Inequality** have tried to jar the country out of the comfortable belief that school performance correlates highly and positively with adult success. And the money to provide the corrective function — e.g., a Head Start and A Better Chance — has never matched the promises of politicians and policy-makers.

Our concern here is not with the extravagant promises, nor with the conclusions of Coleman and Jencks, but rather with the changed political position of the public schools and their superintendents. The myth of the non-political public school is shattered; schools are not above politics but are in the middle of controversy, and no one is served by pretending otherwise.

The role of social change agency, despite the evidence that schooling cannot change social patterns, has thrust schools and

*The former is usually called the Coleman Report after principal author James M. Coleman. *Inequality* is by Christopher Jencks et al. See Bibliography.

schoolmen onto center stage. The Brown decision of 1954 and subsequent Supreme Court decisions and Sputnik in 1957 put unaccustomed pressure on the schools. Less obvious but equally real is the impact of daily, almost routine events and decisions of government and individual citizens. "White flight," for example, often relates directly to parental perception of school quality. Quality is often a code word for race ("quality schools" are predominantly white), but it may reflect genuine concern about disturbances and disruptions. Desegregation invariably leads to tension (at least temporarily) between racial groups, and even isolated incidents are enough to make some whites abandon the public schools. Perhaps the kids are sent to private school; more often the family "escapes to the suburbs."

Only lately are Americans discovering that the suburbs aren't much of an escape, and now some families are moving back into the cities. But the point is that the school situation — and the public perception of the situation — was and is causally related to white movement away from the cities and to the withdrawal of white support from urban public schools.

It is unfair to say that desegregation caused the problems, because desegregation is just one piece of the puzzle. But court-ordered desegregation of the schools has not been accompanied by comparable pressure on other agencies that determine the conditions of municipal living. Housing patterns and zoning laws have been scrutinized and criticized, while schools have been summarily ordered to change direction and lead the country, kicking and screaming, into tomorrow's world.

The effect of these steps-out-of-step has not been what the proponents of desegregation expected. Schools are not prepared to exercise social leadership, nor have other public agencies displayed much willingness to follow. In some places the public schools have become resegregated by race and class, because middle-class blacks are leaving the cities and the public schools, too.

We are not concerned here with the merits and demerits of desegregation, but with the schools and their role in the policy. In desegregation matters the schools have been made instruments of national policy. Schools are also shaped by the decisions and actions on the local government level, by budget decisions, police hiring, construction permits, and so forth. Nonetheless, school systems exist on the periphery of power; they are more decided about than deciding. They should be partners in the decisions that affect urban living, because those decisions affect the schools. School conditions — presented by spokesmen for the schools — ought to influence the decision process.

Schools are political institutions, which doesn't mean that schoolmen are "playing politics" with the children. The decisions affecting schools are political decisions, although they are often not explicitly concerned with schools, and they almost never affect only the schools. That point needs some explanation: many parents are aware of the educational issues and the important decisions made regularly about the schools — the budget, a bond issue, teachers' contracts, the superintendency. Few citizens, we suspect, have reflected on the significance of non-educational decisions for the public schools. When the city council votes money to create an anti-drug strike force, that decision will affect the schools. If the new police group is successful in the streets but has not made the schools an active partner in the planning, the dealers in drugs may be driven into the schools, with predictable results. That is a simple case, and the obvious lesson is for city council-school cooperation. The lesson is easy to draw, but hard to follow.

Sometimes the lesson is not so easy to draw because the connection is not clear. Consider bus transportation. When the bus company sets its routes, it does so with maximum awareness of passenger travel patterns. There are more buses during rush hours than there are during the mid-afternoon hours. The bus schedule also determines when and how often people can travel. Children generally travel in school buses, while the non-school buses generally carry people to work. Suppose both parents work and the father leaves early in the morning, by car. If the school bus arrives after the non-school bus has taken the mother off to work, some of the children (on some of the days) may decide not to get on the school bus. That is not an unreasonable decision, especially since the child knows that neither parent is at home to answer the phone. Every time that happens, those children and the schools miss an opportunity, and the school system loses state aid, which is based on daily attendance figures.

We use the example to make a point: it is not always easy to identify "school decisions" except the obvious ones: the budget, teachers' contracts, et cetera. Municipal action against drugs, the scheduling of buses, and a host of other seemingly non-school-related decisions and actions do affect the schools. The safest assumption is that municipal decisions, large and small, will affect the public school system, and the safest course is to try to determine what the effects will be, before the decisions are made. The observation holds true, though less so, for state and federal actions.

Some readers might conclude from this that, in order to cope with this complexity, the superintendent of schools must be a tireless lobbyist for the schools' interests. We draw a somewhat different

conclusion: the superintendent must be able to stand on an equal footing with the leaders of the community; he must educate the community on the interrelatedness of municipal decisions, while he defends the interests of the school system.

Clearly, that situation doesn't obtain today. Today's urban school superintendent is under fire from all directions. He cannot function either as poor cousin or dim, distant relative. Schools are in the vortex, and to be effective a superintendent must possess an extraordinary combination of political, managerial, communicative, and interpersonal skills. And he must have the power to influence municipal decisions and actions that will affect the schools.

Consider Memphis again: so far, the superintendent of schools there has weathered a rash of crises. Other superintendents have faced similar problems but have failed to survive. Harvey Scribner in New York City, Mark Shedd in Philadelphia, Thomas Shaheen in San Francisco, and Hugh Scott in Washington, D.C. are cases in point. Each case is different, but there is one particularly valid generalization about urban school superintendents: they don't last long. The average tenure of the superintendents in districts with more than 25,000 pupils was less than five years in 1970, and it is getting shorter.[2] After leaving Philadelphia, Shedd observed that a superintendent needed four years to "make an impact." Many don't get that much time. Length of tenure is not to be equated with success, but it is a reasonable condition. It is difficult to demonstrate leadership if you've been sent packing.

Survival and Success

What determines survival and success in the leadership of an urban public school system? What, for that matter, is success? The latter ought to go beyond negative definition; it is not merely keeping the lid on or the avoidance of racial confrontation. We think success is some measure of stability and some evidence of public support of and faith in the public schools. Stability can be measured in test scores, vandalism costs, absentee and dropout figures, teacher turnover, racial enrollment figures, or constituents' attitudes toward the schools. The stability index might justifiably include attendance at football and basketball games, adult employment data, and so forth; the more numbers the better, if only to get away from the temptation to judge school stability by a single measurement.

The determinants of a superintendent's survival and success (jointly, not separately) include an uncertain mix of talent, training, and serendipity. If we knew the recipe, we would be writing about that. If we knew that John Freeman of Memphis, for example, or some other superintendent, was the prototype, we would be writing about him.

Because we don't know those things, we are writing about talent, training, and luck, and about an approach to re-training that might compensate for deficiencies in training and talent. Serendipity is by definition beyond control.

Survival, merely staying on the job, is not really an indication of anything, although some consider it evidence of success and others take it as proof of failure. The administrator who stays may be accomplishing great things, or he may be a rubber stamp for a school board which may be progressive, reactionary, or neither. Nor should failure to survive be thought of as a badge of honor. Not every fired superintendent represents the forces of good brought low (temporarily) by the dark powers of regression and racism. Some administrators lose their jobs because they are not competent, because they are unsuited to the particular situation, or because a "no-win" situation demands a scapegoat. Some administrators fail to last because their training for the job and society's perception of the job are both out of harmony with the reality. Survival is not a reliable indicator of capability, but it is a necessary condition for success.

Talent, training, and serendipity are the major variables, but where and how can they be manipulated? Serendipity we use loosely to indicate events outside the influence of the school system and superintendent. We do not say "environment" because that term possesses even less specificity and certainly less color. Serendipity is a factor in success and survival, but it cannot be manipulated, notwithstanding the old coaching dictum about making your own luck. One can only be prepared for chance occurrences. But if chance cannot be controlled, neither can it explain survival and success; there are certain necessary skills, although they are not solely administrative ones.

Talent is something of a catch-all term, to cover characteristics which are not thought of as being acquired through professional training, such as leadership ability, intelligence, courage, vision, and integrity. Essentially, talent is our term for the clay of which we are all fashioned. It can be manipulated most easily in the selection process, when schools of education choose among candidates for admission and when school boards pick superintendents and other administrators. A process insuring more informed judgments about those entering training has long been one goal of reformers, as we shall see. A school board's willingness to select for superintendencies those whose mettle has been tested elsewhere (that is, in settings unrelated to education) is an important and intriguing possibility, but it is of little value to crisis-beset urban school districts.

Does Training Make the Difference?

If serendipity is beyond our control, and if manipulation of the talent variable promises no short-term benefits, that leaves only training—meaning professional preparation. Our own experience is that much professional training in educational administration is inadequate, as it probably is in every field from law to chemical engineering to psychotherapy. Some professional training is probably counterproductive, learning that must be "unlearned" on the job. But training is in fact the only significant entry point for influencing the behavior of the school superintendents now on the job. Better training might increase the superintendent's chances for survival and success.

Professional preparation is usually categorized by time and place. There is pre-service training, at the university or college of education, and there is in-service training, available at institutions of higher learning and a number of other places. We will have a good deal to say about the pre-service training of administrators. The gist of the argument is that pre-service training ought not to harden the clay of which we are formed—but it does, in most cases. Colleges of education have a near monopoly on the professional preparation of administrators, but we have some modest antitrust action in mind.

In-service training is nobody's monopoly. There are categories by time and type, and there are ventures which defy categorization. Training can mean the exposure to new knowledge, the practice of new behaviors based on new knowledge, or something akin to reading, reflection and self-examination. In-service training can occupy a sabbatical year or a few weekends, the summer months or one evening a week. Correspondence courses are not unheard of, and school districts give courses during released time. The structure of the experience varies, too: lecture, seminar, workshop, reading at home, and "hands on" training.

In-service training has at least its share of charlatans and fools. Administrative responsibilities leave little free time for serious, sustained in-service training or for reflection, and the hypocrisy of the career ladder in teaching encourages breezy, inconsequential in-service courses. As long as salary increments depend upon in-service credits, Gresham's law will apply: the easy courses will fill up with teachers eyeing that one opening in administration, institutions will be led to offer more easy courses, and the more challenging courses are driven out as surely as bad money drives out good.

Workshop, the common term to describe in-service training for administrators, defies strict definition. Its form is probably limited by the constraints of working conditions (meaning weekend workshops

during the school year, and longer ones during the summer) and by what superintendents need and want. The most ambitious program is that offered by the American Association of School Administrators' (AASA) National Academy for School Executives, which operates 50 to 60 workshops per year, varying in length from one to five days. NASE programs tend to be issue-oriented, on such topics as "implementing career education programs" and "PPBS: Setting priorities and allocating resources."

It is our belief that formal in-service learning experiences for superintendents (and teachers) should be part of their job description and responsibility (i.e., on company time). Salary increments as rewards for teachers for in-service training represent an evil that should be abolished.

Moreover, the content and form of the learning experience ought to be defined by what superintendents need and want to know and what they can assimilate. Their on-the-job experiences have to feed into the learning process, and the learning structure ought to be an extension of the superintendents' reality. Superintendents are also entitled to "relevant" learning.

In-service training is the only real opportunity for intervention in the performance of superintendents now on the job. Selection of "better" candidates and "better" pre-service training will influence school districts years from now, if at all, because of the revolving door that the superintendency has become. Turnover is high, we have seen, with the average position lasting less than five years. But the rate of exit from the profession (not the specific jobs) is low. That is, most superintendents who leave one job go right into another, leaving very little room for newcomers. School district consolidation has reduced the number of school districts, which in turn reduces demand for superintendents. Also slowing down the rate of change is the low turnover among lower level administrators; it is not uncommon for assistant superintendents to spend their entire careers in one district. They cannot or will not change districts, and often they become barriers to educational change in the district.

Present in-service training may not offer much more hope for reform than improved selection or better pre-service training, because, unfortunately, the in-service training is distinguished only by its removal from the superintendent's daily experience. That experience, however, is the foundation upon which self-knowledge and a new set of skills must be built.

The normal in-service model approximates ingestion and regurgitation: the trainer tells the students how they should behave as school administrators, in setting up modular scheduling, creating PERT

charts, or achieving differentiated staffing, and the trainees regurgitate what they have learned. The course does not ask them to behave differently, and the teaching method reinforces the customary behaviors.

We think a more appropriate model should approximate digestion, not ingestion-regurgitation. We think that the learning process is central to the re-education of superintendents. Learning always takes place in a social setting and in the heads of those involved. For learning to occur there must be interaction among those different people in the social setting and within each head.

Three Variables: People, Information, and Pathways

We find three variables in the learning situation, and each is susceptible to manipulation. The first variable is the people (actually, the systems) involved, called, in the language of general systems theory, the "nodes" or "terminals." Between those terminals flow information, facts, feelings, and data, which are the second variable. The third variable is the linkages, pathways along which the information flows. Traditional schooling consists of a one-way flow of data along the traditional pathway, which we might call "brain to brain." More than that happens, of course; professors are aware of students, emotions are involved, and more than data is transmitted. The traditional model itself is not structured for two-way, three-way and N-way exchanges, for the accommodation of feelings and perceptions, or for new pathways.

Good in-service training for superintendents should not tell them only what information they need. The learning process of the training is more important than mere information, because the process can lead to more and better interaction among more nodes. That translates to mean that superintendents will end up in networks with each other and with mayors, police chiefs, city councils, and citizens.

It all sounds a bit sticky, because although neither networks nor process are new ideas, process is a cliché by now, popularized and bastardized. To some it may mean touch-and-feel sessions, and the absence of substance, but its importance is well known and documented in the field of organization development. We are saying that how superintendents interact, and with whom, are factors crucial to their survival and success.

The term *network* when applied to individuals and organizations is easy to understand. We are all involved in networks of different kinds: neighbors are connected by common interests in children, safe streets, garbage collection, and fences. Business connections are

another network, as are old school ties and political interest groups. Networks may be formal or informal, temporary or relatively permanent. They facilitate the flow of information, help keep us adjusted to others, and generally serve to stabilize our lives. "Networking," it turns out, is basically old wine in new bottles in the sense that it means more interaction and more information exchange. But networking, as we mean to use the term here, also calls for systematized, more efficient interactions, which implies *new* behavior on the part of the superintendent. Self-conscious networking is not the same as neighbors united by garbage, for the latter does not require new behavior.

Superintendents already belong to networks, of course. Urban school superintendents are likely to know each other and to keep in touch through the Council of Great City Schools and the AASA annual meeting; they sometimes meet when testifying before congressional committees. We take the position that a school superintendents' network of the kind described in this book can provide the significant, continuous in-service "training" that is beyond the scope of the training now available.

We have come to this conclusion inductively, gradually, even painfully. The negative observation that present professional training is inadequate only makes the void palpable; it does not fill it. Filling that void requires a new understanding of the school system's involvement in the political system, new interactions with the outside forces that impinge upon the schools, and, ultimately, a new role for the superintendent as a political figure. We have become convinced that there is a kind of process for superintendents that can enable them to bring about a readjustment of the relationship between public education and the larger society. That, in the long run, will amount to "educational reform."

For over a year now process-oriented training sessions of this sort have been conducted under the auspices of what we call the Superintendents' Network, which has federal support without federal direction. Of course, federal support of education is not new, but it is nowhere near as widespread as most people imagine. The federal share of educational expenditures in 1972 and again in 1973 amounted to little more than eight per cent; that is, over 90 per cent of the money spent on public education came from state and local sources. The Superintendents' Network, which is under the umbrella of a modest experiment in educational reform called PROJECT OPEN, accounts for but five-one thousandths (.005) of one per cent of the federal eight per cent. It is built on a healthy tension between Washington and the superintendents: the money is federal, but the decisions are local. The

Office of Education provides the horse, but the reins—and, therefore, the destination—are in the hands of the superintendents.

Earlier federal attempts to bring about educational reforms were more ambitious. Dividing up the power ("maximum feasible participation") and creating new power groups were often important items on the federal agenda. Not so in the Superintendents' Network, which enlists people with power in peer-group relationships. There is no requirement for "maximum feasible" anything.

The social context which made something like the Superintendents' Network necessary is an historical accident. Americans expect the impossible from their public schools, and the superintendent is held accountable when the impossible does not happen. As the rate of social change accelerates, social systems and individuals must also change. The natural tendency, however, is toward "dynamic conservatism,"* the active (actually reactive) efforts of individuals and systems to resist change and its effects. Public schools, graduate schools of education, and superintendents themselves resist change, of course, and often the handful of people working for change find their reform attempts subverted. In effect, the more necessary change is, the harder it may be to achieve. Superintendents, locked as they are in the closed circle of educational administration, are part of the problem.

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*The term is from Donald Schon's *Beyond the Stable State*. See bibliography.

FOOTNOTES

[1] David K. Cohen, "Social Experiments with Schools: What Has Been Learned?" Center for Educational Policy Research, The Brookings Institution. (July 1973), p. 21. The author generously made a draft of the paper (to be published soon) available to us.

[2] *The American School Superintendent*. Stephen J. Knezevich, ed., Washington, D.C.: AASA, 1971, p.33. The most interesting thing about that statistic is that most superintendents in our acquaintance believe that the correct figure is 33 months; however, no one seems to know the source of the statistic.

CHAPTER THREE: EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

Recently the superintendent of schools in a large American city was called out of an important meeting. He explained that not one but three urgent problems had arisen. One concerned developments in a lawsuit in which a physical education teacher had been charged with homicide for allegedly forcing a student who couldn't swim to remain in the swimming pool. The student drowned. The superintendent noted that the case was only one of over 100 in which he was then a defendant.

The second problem involved a shooting at one of the high schools that day. At yet another high school, the police had just seized a large quantity of heroin.

Undoubtedly that was not one of the superintendent's better days, nor was it typical. But hardly a day goes by in an urban school system without some significant upheaval, and every superintendent knows that the only certainty is that problems will occur, sooner or later.

How do superintendents cope with a world in which violence, drugs, and lawsuits are inevitable? Can they foster learning and growth amidst the disorder that is so prevalent in the modern urban school system? What can they do in the face of the knowledge that the disorder is beyond their control?

How, for that matter, does one get to be a school superintendent? What does a superintendent look like, in terms of a statistical profile? What is his background, and what kind of academic training has prepared him for the chaotic microcosm that is the modern urban school system?

Most of the basic information on the background, training, beliefs, and attitudes of the approximately 15,000 school superintendents can be reduced to a chart or two, and we have done just that. The "chart or two" is actually one table, found on the following pages. We have some information that doesn't lend itself to charts and some other information that we would rather trust to our prose.

The thrust of this chapter is that, while urban superintendents are different from their non-urban colleagues, both groups come up short when grasping for answers to the complex problems of running a school district, whatever its size. Both groups need help.

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The chart:

THE SUPERINTENDENT[1]	"TYPICAL"[2] (NATIONAL WEIGHTED PROFILE)	URBAN (MEAN)[3] over 25,000 pop.	NON-URBAN (MEAN)
Age	48.1	52.6	48.1
Sex % male	98.7	100%	98.6
Race[4]	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian
Age at 1st teaching position	24.4	22.8	23.9
Years teaching	7.4	5.3	6.9
Subject taught	Science, math, or soc. stds.	Soc. sci., Eng. Drama, Journalism, or math	Science, math, or soc. stds.
Age at 1st admin. or supervisory position	30.4	28.2	30.0
Age at 1st superintendency	36.7	38.8	36.7
Enrollment in 1st superintendency	2050	29749	2313
Starting salary	$8,409	$14,078	$9,022
Current salary (1973-74)	$31,525	$36,938	$30,021
% who have held superintendencies in more than one state	7.8	33.6	8.4
% with Master's as highest degree	68%	30.1	61.7
% with doctorate or beyond	15.4	64.7	20
Undergraduate major	Education	Educ., Eng., or foreign language	Education
Age beginning graduate study	28.8	26.5	28.3
% from rural area or small town	86.1	67.1	84.3
% from city	6.3	21.6	7.2
Total years in superintendency	11.6	12.9	11.0
% who would select career again	71.4	90.2	72.7

There is no single point in the continuum of school district size where urban begins and non-urban ends. The categories overlap, but they are distinct enough for our purposes. A superintendent with 20,000 pupils may be greatly concerned about socio-cultural ferment whereas another school superintendent with 35,000 pupils may be oblivious to the issue. Size does not explain ferment, or the school

superintendent's concern or unconcern. But it remains generally and dramatically accurate that size correlates with some issues, not with others. Urban schools are different, and their superintendents know it.

Some Similarities

There are only slight differences among urban and non-urban school superintendents in several categories. The overwhelming majority of all superintendents consider school finance the major issue facing public education. 98.7 per cent of the school superintendents are white males. Over 75 per cent from each category were coaches, contradicting Griffiths' (1960) finding that only 23 per cent had coached.[5]

City school superintendents moved into administration faster than their non-urban counterparts, but followed a more complex career line and were older when they attained the superintendency. Generally, urban superintendents spent fewer years teaching (5.3) than the non-urban superintendent (close to seven years). But an earlier start in administration did not necessarily mean an earlier superintendency, because the career ladder has more rungs in an urban district. Few non-urban school superintendents have served as assistant superintendents or directors, because the positions either do not exist or are not significant in smaller districts. By contrast, almost half of the urban school superintendents served as teachers, principals and workers in central office positions before becoming superintendents. Only 20 per cent of the non-urban school superintendents followed the teacher-principal-central office ladder to the top.

Urban school superintendents tend to have longer contracts. In fact, the smaller the district, the greater the likelihood of a one-year contract. The converse holds true: the larger the district, the longer the contract is likely to be. Over half of the urban school superintendents have at least a four-year contract, while 46 per cent of the non-urban school superintendents have one- or two-year contracts. Four out of five superintendents have held more than one superintendency, but fewer than one in ten has served in more than one state. Only rarely do school superintendents change *categories*. An urban school superintendent is likely to move to another urban system when he changes jobs. Non-urban school superintendents do not become urban school superintendents. The school superintendent from a district with more than 100,000 students is far more likely to move out of the state, because few states have more than one district with 100,000 pupils.

Richard O. Carlson's distinction between "place-bound" superintendents and "career-bound" superintendents may be useful here.[6] Place-bound superintendents are those who stay in the district, as teachers and principals. Career-bound superintendents are not wedded to a district, or, if they are, they practice serial monogamy. Career-bound school superintendents move when their goals are accomplished, when a better opportunity comes along, or perhaps for a host of other reasons. But when they move, they most likely move to a similar district, from one town to another or from one city to another. Unless they move from one large district to another, they probably stay within the state. Retirement plans are a factor here, as are job opportunities. It seems probable that any network for non-urban school superintendents is local rather than national; the superintendent in Milwaukee is likely to know his counterpart in Jacksonville or Louisville, but the school superintendent in Gardiner, Massachusetts, probably does not know the school superintendent in Turner, Ohio, or Magnolia, Mississippi. Retirement plans are usually statewide, and the absence of a national system makes it very difficult, even risky, for superintendents to move out of state. We will return to this problem in our final chapter.

Some Challenges Facing The Superintendency

Most superintendents generally approve of their graduate training. Urban and non-urban school superintendents identified similar weaknesses but differed somewhat on the strengths. The major weakness suggested was in the course offerings. Nearly half cited the poor or irrelevant course offerings; another 30 per cent pointed out the poor quality of specific educational administration courses. Their retrospective evaluations require a caveat, which is that some of the programs may no longer exist. Those that are still around are probably different. Without asking different questions of the data, we cannot tell whether school superintendents who studied in 1940 feel differently about their training than do recent graduates.

The basic statistics show that urban school superintendents work more hours, make more money, change jobs more often, have longer contracts, and follow a different career ladder. But urban and non-urban school superintendents are similar in many ways: they begin as teachers, serve as principals, work long hours, tend to stay in the same size district and often in the same state, and approve of their graduate training. In fact, it is the subjective data that reveal the most distinct differences between urban and non-urban school superintendents.

The AASA survey asked superintendents to identify the important issues, to indicate what issues might make them leave the field, and to identify factors inhibiting their effectiveness. The data bear out our earlier observation that city superintendents are a breed apart.

The most striking contrast is in the superintendents' ranking of socio-cultural issues such as race relations, integration, and segregation. Urban school superintendents ranked that in a tie for third; school superintendents from the other two groups ranked it seventh and twelfth. The issue of race is actually the first major difference of opinion, because every group ranked "school finance" and "demands for new ways of teaching or operating the educational programs" first and second. That racial issues should rank so high among city school superintendents is no great surprise: cities are increasingly black and brown, and those racial blocs are insisting on being heard. Racial conflict is no stranger to city schools, and such conflicts receive more attention in the media when they occur in New York or Houston instead of a small town somewhere.

The larger the district, the more concerned the superintendent is likely to be about teacher militancy and school staff relations. That issue tied for third among urban school superintendents (and among school superintendents of districts with 3,000-24,999 pupils), but ranked sixth with school superintendents from the small districts. Again, it may well be that the city is slightly ahead of the rest of the country. Teachers haven't struck very often in Middletown (or hadn't when the survey was conducted in 1969-70); they have in Philadelphia, Detroit, New York City, San Francisco, Houston, Kansas City, and Baltimore.

Urban school superintendents are also more concerned about student activism. That issue was ranked tenth by the urban school superintendents but nationally it ranked seventeenth or next to last. Again the inference is that in the city the future is at hand, and that some years from now non-urban school superintendents will also worry about underground newspapers and student strikes.

The notion that the future has already arrived for urban school superintendents seems to be borne out by the rest of the data. Urban superintendents are no longer as concerned about the superintendent's greater visibility, the growing federal involvement in education, rapidly increasing enrollments, or changes in values and behavioral norms. What can be inferred is that urban school superintendents are adjusting to the greater visibility and the federal involvement that non-urban superintendents find disturbing. Not surprisingly, urban superintendents are unmoved by "reorganization of small

districts into larger units of administration," an issue which ranks third among school superintendents with districts of 300-2,999 pupils.

School superintendents from non-urban districts are most fearful of personal attacks and problems with the teaching staff. At least those are the issues which they identified as "most likely to cause them to leave the profession." Neither issue ranked high with superintendents from urban areas. The gravest concern for the latter is socio-cultural ferment, a catch-all which ranked low on the list of concern of non-urban superintendents.

It is speculation to suggest that non-urban school superintendents will be concerned tomorrow about issues which bother urban superintendents today. What is not speculation is the contrast between urban and non-urban school superintendents — they live in different worlds and they perceive issues differently. Social change, racial turmoil, and the like are primarily urban issues, at least insofar as the schools are concerned. Consequently, urban school superintendents feel threatened by socio-cultural ferment and are comparatively blasé about "attacks on superintendents." They know they must live in the public spotlight.

Another explanation for the urban superintendent's low ranking of the issue of attacks on superintendents has come to the surface since the assassination of Marcus Foster. It is simply that superintendents don't want to talk about attacks for fear that talk will only lead to more. Former Tulsa superintendent Gordon Cawelti said, "You don't hear much about this because of the remote likelihood that it might give some crackpot an idea."[7] In general few big city superintendents have full-time protection, although special measures are taken for specific events that have a high potential for violence.

A Roomful of Superintendents

We do not want to draw a picture of two distinctly different groups. Put together in one room, urban and non-urban school superintendents would find plenty to talk about and to agree on. School finance might dominate the conversation, since urban and non-urban school superintendents consider it the most pressing issue. They would generally agree, too, on the "demand for new ways of teaching or operating the educational program." In short, the conversation would be about money: how to get it, and how to spend it more slowly and more effectively. That roomful of school superintendents would also agree that their training had been satisfactory, according to the data.

We take exception: neither past training nor (we fear) current training prepares school superintendents for the position of school

administrator. It may well be that no training is ever adequate and that most learning takes place on the job, but good training prepares for learning; it keeps that clay of which we are formed from hardening too early. It appears to us, however, that good training has not been the normal experience; we simply do not believe that the superintendents' satisfaction with their training is justified.

The earlier data suggest that school superintendents, particularly the urban ones, are aware of their troubles, but judging from their answers to another set of questions, they don't know where to turn. Asked to identify the types of specialists needed to improve performance levels, 42.4 per cent of the urban school superintendents singled out public relations specialists, as if to say that a better image would improve school performance. Even the most optimistic interpretation of this response (that the public doesn't know the good side of schools) has a certain unreality, a suggestion that problems are only skin deep. Only curriculum and instructional specialists were in greater demand. Asked to identify skills they needed to maintain their own effectiveness (as opposed to specialists needed in the district), school superintendents gave a barely discernible nod in the direction of skills in conflict resolution! That ranked eighth nationally, seventh among urban school superintendents, leading the AASA Report to remark:

> at the bottom of the list were such skills as those needed in conflict resolution . . . In view of the amount of conflict currently swirling about education one would have expected a greater need to be voiced for conflict resolution skills and insights.[8]

As will become obvious, we agree with the AASA. Skills in conflict resolution will not solve the problems facing school superintendents today, but they are a damn sight better than merely reaching for a better public image.

One more topic that's bound to come up in a roomful of school superintendents: getting fired. The average length of time in an urban school superintendency is less than five years. The pressures in a modern school system are intense, and the superintendent gets most of the heat. It's a rare (and perhaps foolish) superintendent who takes a position today with the notion of going into retirement from it. If he does get his gold watch, it will likely be sooner than he anticipates.

The AASA report ends on a high note. Over 70 per cent of the school superintendents would choose to be school superintendents if they were given the chance to start over again, which the AASA interpreted as evidence of satisfaction, Perhaps. But none of us can start over again. The best anyone can do is reflect on the past in order

to reform both present and future. A sizeable amount of energy and dollar resources have been devoted to such reflection over the past 20 years, and the results are just now being measured. The next chapter digs around the roots of the 20-year effort to reform the training of educational administrators, and nibbles and sniffs at the fruits and flowers the reformers have brought forth.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The data are from the AASA's *The American School Superintendent*, which means that it is 1969-70 information, except for 1973-74 salaries, which come from Educational Research Service. ERS notes that the salary figures are not the result of a national survey but of a sampling of districts with at least 6,000 pupils.

The "urban" and "non-urban" categories are our own, based on AASA data. Their research on 14,848 superintendents established categories according to the number of pupils: Group A (25,000 or more); Group B (3,000-24,999); Group C (300-2,999) and Group D (lower than 300). The study also provides national figures, weighted and unweighted. We combine the B and C figures. We omit Group D, because the group is small and growing smaller and because their response to the AASA survey was slight. Essentially we are comparing and contrasting the big-city superintendent with his town and country counterparts. So that terminology is not a problem, we use the terms "urban" and "non-urban." Our reasoning is that many of the large towns in the non-urban category are not far removed from the "country" classification; population changes faster than outlook.

[2] There probably is no such person as the "typical" superintendent, but enough come close to make the data of some value. The National Weighted Profile is based on a sophisticated analysis of the data.

[3] The data for superintendents in districts with more than 100,000 pupils show even more contrast to the non-urban. Current salary, for example, is $41,324.

[4] The AASA didn't ask about race, but Hugh Scott, former Washington, D.C., superintendent, is doing his own survey and he has found about 40 black superintendents. There probably are not that many Mexican-American and American Indian superintendents.

[5] Daniel E. Griffiths, *The School Superintendent*, Center for Applied Research in Education (New York, 1966), p. 7, and *Profile of the School Superintendent*, 1960, a study done jointly by the AASA and the NEA. "The Status of the American Public School Teacher," (NEA Research Bulletin, 35, 1, February, 1957, pp. 54-55) indicates that 32.3 per cent of all male teachers were also coaching extracurricular athletic teams.

[6] Richard O. Carlson, *School Superintendents: Career and Performances*, (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1972), pp. 30-35.

[7] Reported in *Education USA*, December 3, 1973.

[8] *The American School Superintendent*, op. cit., p. 62.

CHAPTER FOUR: REFORMING ADMINISTRATOR TRAINING: THE FOUNDATIONS GIVE IT A TRY

Large foundations, the professional schools, the professors, and the federal government have all had a hand in recent efforts[1] to reform the training available to education administrators. The foundations — chiefly Kellogg and Ford — have provided money with strings attached. The professionals (professors and practitioners) have provided new standards and regulations, while the federal role has been limited to support for the National Program in Educational Leadership (NPEL) and the Superintendents Network/PROJECT OPEN.

By and large, reforms fall easily into two categories: training and professional standards. Most of the attention has been given to the training process. Potential school administrators are now recruited from a larger pool, given more courses to choose from, and are more likely to have a "relevant" internship than their predecessors. Professional standards are higher now, as a result of changes from within the profession. The major change has been the AASA requirement (effective after 1964) that new members shall have completed at least a two-year graduate program in educational administration at a school approved by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) the profession's chief certifying agency.

As will become clear, reform has meant more training, more complex certification procedures, new roles for administrators, and great growth for schools and departments of education administration. Whether these changes have had any effect on practicing school superintendents is questionable. Most school superintendents were, after all, trained before the advent of the new programs, and the AASA's two-year graduate program requirement was not retroactive. As for the newly trained administrators, there is a necessary caveat: they were trained by many of the same old hands.

The Kellogg Foundation

The efforts of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in the late 1940's and early 1950's are generally recognized as the beginning of the reform movement that should now be bearing fruit. Pushed by the AASA and the new National Conference of Professors of Education Administration (NCPEA) but with a genuine interest of its own, the Foundation underwrote five "exploratory" conferences in 1948 to discuss professional preparation, working relations between school board, staff and superintendents, recruitment, and working conditions. The series of conferences ended in early 1949, and Kellogg agreed to support a large-scale national improvement program. Over the next ten years it

spent over $10 million on the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA). CPEA began with five universities* in 1950, grew immediately to eight and finally to 30. There were eight regional centers, with staff and funds; the latter were used for conferences, research, support of promising dissertations, and other such purposes.

CPEA's effort led to the formation of two new organizations, also supported by Kellogg. In 1955, when the original grants were used up, Kellogg accepted proposals to create the Committee for the Advancement of School Administration (CASA) and the University Council on Educational Administration (UCEA). As part of the AASA, CASA examined and catalogued material about training, then published 35 goals for the profession in *Something to Steer By*.[2] CASA also promoted the acceptance of the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) as the accrediting agency for departments of educational administration, and CASA encouraged the two-year graduate study requirement for new members of the AASA.

UCEA is a more direct successor of CPEA. Proposed in 1955 by Teachers College (an original member of CPEA), UCEA was envisioned as a cooperative organization of universities (not individual professors) concerned with improving training programs for educational administrators. The original UCEA had 32 members and was quartered at Columbia University. Now there are 53 members, and the organization is run from Ohio State. It sponsors research, publishes and circulates reports, and "tries to keep the profession abreast of the times," according to Dr. Jack Culbertson, its Executive Director.

It might be helpful to summarize, before the gaggle of initials becomes overwhelming. Until 1955, Kellogg supported CPEA which consisted of eight regional centers and about 30 university-based projects. After 1955, Kellogg underwrote CASA, a committee of the AASA. CASA pushed for higher standards within the profession. The UCEA also received Kellogg money. It urges member universities to move in directions they may not want to take by supporting or creating training materials and by keeping them aware of changing conditions in the field.

Analysis of the reform thrust lends itself easily to summary: 1) the profession toughened its standards. Longer training and an established accreditation procedure and agency probably enhanced the prestige of educational administrators; 2) the leading departments of educational administration recognized the value of cooperation in

*Harvard; Chicago; Teachers College, Columbia; George Peabody College; and the University of Texas.

some areas; 3) some changes were made in the content of educational administration programs; and 4) educational administration was promoted as a "science."

The "post-Kellogg" period (1960 to the present) saw more changes at the university level in recruitment, curriculum, and on-the-job training (internships). Job placement after graduation was a concern of some new programs. Recruitment into the study of educational administration has never been a major concern of schools of education. Put another way, the road to becoming a school superintendent is well known and fairly conventional; the system itself has enough inducements for the bright young man, and the graduate schools have not had to do much reaching out. By and large, it happens this way: the bright and capable young man is promoted from his teaching position (usually in secondary schools) to assistant principal. He begins graduate work in educational administration if he has not already done so. He becomes a principal, does more graduate work (perhaps on a leave-of-absence) and becomes a fully certified administrator. Almost every practicing school superintendent has followed this same route.[3]

Not everyone who sets out to be a school administrator makes it, of course, and not every principal becomes a superintendent. For every employed superintendent, there are at least ten like him (certified, white males) who have not found administrative positions. That ten-to-one ratio is overcautious. In New York State there were 203 openings for principals in 1969-70, and 15,000 certified qualified personnel. Supervisors in New York City have accepted a contract calling for more work days without additional pay because, as a union leader observed, if they had gone on strike, there would have been 100 teachers willing and fully certified to take over each supervisory position.

A Farm System for Administrators?

The abundance of certified personnel may strike some as a farm system worthy of the Los Angeles Dodgers, a latter day version of Darwinian natural selection. But whether the fittest survive or not (and some say that racism, cronyism, and even nepotism play a big role in promotions), there is rampant overproduction of certified administrative personnel, and overproduction is encouraged by the peculiar career ladder of public education. A teacher's pay is generally determined by length of service and numbers of credit hours.

While no one can hasten the passage of years, anyone can go to school, and many teachers do. Education courses are generally comfortable, not too difficult, easily available, and likely to be filled with

other teachers. The next substantial step up is out of the classroom and into supervision. The aggressive young male teacher, in a hurry to make good and make money, sees education and educational administration courses as the way to move ahead; the academic credits count toward salary increments and toward certification for the next available assistant principalship. Eighty-five per cent of the 25,000 students in departments of educational administration are part-time students. (However, early reforms were aimed at the 16 per cent who are full time — or rather, were designed as if 100 per cent of the students were full time. No one then considered that "part-timeness" might be a special condition or a part of the pathology.) In its way, the route is comparable to that of the young baseball player struggling in the minor leagues to make it to the top, but with an important exception: athletes don't spend their time and money on extensive professional training to earn a license to play ball.

A more apt parallel may be with other professions; doctors and lawyers, for example, must study and earn licenses. Imagine a comparable situation: at least ten non-practicing doctors for every practicing one. The social cost would be incalculable, and our society simply would not accept such a situation. Despite some gains in prestige, educational administration does not rank with medicine or law, and the huge numbers of certified administrators with nothing to administer is not as shocking to society as, for example, the recent teacher surplus was. Why the picture of certified teachers selling encyclopedias door-to-door is less acceptable than that of certified administrators similarly employed is no great mystery. The public has always held teachers in fairly high esteem, but only the most fervent professional educators are comfortable comparing their profession with medicine and law.

Somewhere in the whole process of certification there is a hoax. Too many teachers spend too much time getting certified for nonexistent jobs. If, when certified, they are in fact highly trained, skilled professionals, then the waste of administrative manpower should be unacceptable. If, on the other hand, the courses leading to certification are more convenient than challenging, then the waste of teacher manpower is unacceptable. If they are truly professional administrators, there ought to be some administrative role for them, or the system ought not to produce so many. Conversely, if they are likely to remain teachers, then they ought to be enriching and stimulating those parts of their brains concerned with the learning and teaching processes.

But the mass of teachers studying in vain to be administrators has apparently been acceptable to the schools of education and the departments of educational administration, which have enjoyed unparalleled growth, thanks in part to more stringent certification requirements and the peculiar career ladder in education (not to mention federal and foundation dollars). The career ladder encourages young teachers to aspire to administration, and the graduate schools are ready with the courses.

Under such circumstances, recruitment has not been a problem for departments of educational administration, but it has been a major concern of those outside the schools of education. Too many of the same kinds of people become superintendents. When some superintendents retire, they go to departments of educational administration and help produce new administrators in their own image from among the ambitious teachers taking in-service courses. If the departments recruited new faces from new places, perhaps the next generation of superintendents might be different. If many of the new recruits were female or black or brown, the next generation of superintendents would not be 98 per cent white and 97 per cent male, as the current one is. There would be gradual change, but coupled with curriculum reform, it could have an impact, or so many reformers believed.

Ford, Rockefeller and the U. S. Office of Education

Recruitment from a broader base has been the goal of several reform efforts. For the Seven University Consortium project supported by the Ford Foundation, it has been one component; for the National Program in Educational Leadership (NPEL), recruitment is the hook on which the entire program is hung. NPEL seeks to recruit into education those who have already been successful in other fields (business, law and so forth) and who now want to work full-time in urban education.

NPEL is unique in its recruitment policies because it opens its door to those who have succeeded elsewhere. Most recruiting reforms stress broadening of the base, by which they mean attracting women, blacks, browns, and activists into education administration. Schools of education have not been alone in this emphasis, of course. Many doors previously closed to women, blacks, browns, and activists began opening in the late 1960's, if only to admit a token or two. That general wave of concern and pressure, plus foundation money, caught up the schools of education and departments of educational administration. They began admitting and in some cases recruiting non-white, non-male, non-teachers. "Leadership ability" became an important

criterion, or rather, the criterion was often redefined to include those active in social action movements. "People who are wise and experienced in the ways of the communities served by schools may make good school administrators," according to Edward J. Meade, Jr., Office-in-Charge of the Public Education Program at the Ford Foundation.[4]

In 1970, the Rockefeller Foundation began a program that all but bypasses the departments of educational administration to recruit minority group members into the superintendency. The program works this way: Through a complex selection process, the Foundation identifies promising mid-level minority school administrators (assistant principals and principals). Those selected, called Rockefeller Interns, spend a year learning about every aspect of the superintendency from "the best school superintendents in America," according to Bruce Williams, the Rockefeller Foundation officer-in-charge. Each intern divides his year between two superintendents, is paid at his previous year's salary level plus certain costs, and becomes a free agent at the end of the year. Rockefeller insisted upon the free agent clause, Williams said, so that each intern would be free to move into a leadership position.

Since 1970, the Rockefeller Foundation has made a commitment of $1.9 million, and by the end of the 1973-74 school year, 39 interns will have "graduated." Of the 29 who have completed the program, three are now superintendents, and at least ten are associate, assistant, or area assistant superintendents. Five have taken positions in universities or with foundations, about which Williams notes, "Any time an individual doesn't stay in the public schools it is somewhat of a disappointment."[5]

But the academic program itself (as opposed to recruitment into it) has been the major concern of other reformers, who apparently concluded that there was no point to putting new people on the same old treadmill. How to avoid the treadmill became the goal. A popular way was to dip into the resources of the whole university. NPEL's rhetoric captures the spirit.

> NPEL departs from traditional programs in many respects. It draws upon the nation as its training pool, both for recruitment and for instruction; it features individual programming, fashioned around the particular needs of each student . . . the program exists apart from universities, but is, at the same time, dependent on them . . . An infinite array of opportunities will be available.[6]

Many of those opportunities were supposed to be outside the traditional curriculum and outside the school of education. According to Meade, "School superintendents too often were principals who had been promoted; often many of them were not trained to manage an educational social service agency, which is what the modern school system is; nor were they trained in economics, politics, and other relevant social sciences." Usually more than exhortation was necessary to bring about aggressive use of university resources, and the Seven-University Consortium Project and NPEL attempted to build in university-wide cooperation. Some graduate programs urged students to take courses outside the school of education, while at the other end of that spectrum joint programs to train administrators for different types of institutions developed. These generally fall under the heading of "training-in-common" programs.

Training-in-Common

The notion of training-in-common has sparked several interesting innovations in administrator training. Not everyone agrees that administration-qua-administration is worthy of study or that significant commonalities exist among different areas of administration: schools, cities, hospitals, businesses, and welfare agencies. There is also what Erwin Miklos calls "boundary defense," the inevitable tendency of established departments to resist encroachment.[7]

> Proponents of the generic approach receive a polite hearing from their colleagues only until the prospect of major changes in the organization of the fields becomes real. Then other voices are heard and the boundaries between disciplines are drawn more tightly. Each field recognizes the common elements as long as the identities of individual studies are not lost.[8]

Miklos believes that the most progressive training-in-common programs have started on entirely new campuses: The Irvine campus of the University of California, Sangamon State University in Springfield, Illinois, and the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan. Irvine offers the M. S. and Ph.D. degrees, Sangamon State offers the M.A. (Administration) degree, and Regina grants the B.Ad. Miklos concludes that the new programs are a healthy, necessary step, though there is as yet no empirical evidence of their value. He observes that

> . . .administrators must be prepared to work with changing organizational structures, rapidly changing environments, and adhocracies rather than bureaucracies. In addition, more and more administrators will probably find themselves moving from one institutional area to another. Realistic preparation should take cognizance of these trends and broaden the immediate ranges of career alternatives by developing appropriate programs.[9]

Administration for itself alone is a legitimate field of study. There are enough commonalities in the administration of cities, hospitals, and schools to justify the merger. If the variations are systematic, that knowledge will undoubtedly be a stepping-stone for further advances. Talcott Parsons says: "The tendency to divide the field obscures both the importance of the common elements, and the systematic bases of variation from one type to another."[10] Moreover, administrators of one organization must communicate and cooperate with administrators in other types of organizations. Organizational boundaries, public and private, are not what they were. The superintendent of a big city school system today must know and work in a network with the city manager, the heads of major city departments, the social service organizations, and on down the list. Such a network is necessary, and it must also be efficient. Miklos says:

> An organization attempting to cope with urgent social or economic problems finds that organizations in other institutional areas have been grappling with the same problems. The discharge of functions in one area requires cooperation with—and even enlistment of—organizations in another.[11]

Training-in-common is a step toward equipping future school administrators with the skills necessary for survival in the complex and interdependent world of city schools.

Reform by Expansion: The Curriculum

The departments of educational administration generally responded to calls for reform by enlarging the curriculum, which may now include courses in the politics and economics of education, the sociology and psychology of communities, educational planning, and methods of educational research. The traditional courses remain: introduction to administration, supervision of instruction, elementary

and secondary school administration. The traditional offerings are easily the most common: 25 per cent of the professors teach the introductory course each year.

The graduate departments sought to escape the same old treadmill by enlarging it. An AASA report noted dryly, "In general, institutions were more likely to add new program elements than to delete old ones."[12] Institutions undertook curriculum reform under pressure from several sources. Some professors and students, the progressive clique in professional organizations, and the foundations favored an expanded curriculum. CASA's *Something to Steer By* in 1958 had encouraged broader knowledge, deeper insight into cultural disciplines, and depth of understanding in economics and taxation, social anthropology, political science, American history, and literature. The education school responded by expanding its own offerings, rather than requiring degree candidates to study those subjects elsewhere in the university. The two-year graduate school requirement for AASA membership may have been the strongest pressure of all. That new requirement was an invitation to expand; students staying around for two years needed more courses than the traditional curriculum offered. Liberal reformers feared the worst, that the new regulations would only lead to more work on that same treadmill. Harold Howe II, later U. S. Commissioner of Education, wrote in 1962:

> One wonders whether the action of the AASA on membership may not have the effect of solidifying the old procedures by giving their devotees many new customers to serve before there has been time to teach the cooks the new recipe.[13]

These were two major thrusts of curriculum reform in the 1960's: expand the course offerings within the departments of educational administration, or go outside the school of education into the university. Outside funding, from a foundation or the federal government, provided much of the incentive for university and school of education cooperation.

Certainly, students of educational administration have more specialized courses to choose from today. Program requirements are likely to be more flexible, enabling a student to specialize, perhaps aiming for one of the new roles in the profession, such as educational planner, budgeting specialist, or evaluator.

The Ford Foundation and other reformers urged another change in the training of administrators: a more clinical, more urban-oriented internship. An internship, usually of a year's duration, has been a

component of the standard administration training program for the doctorate; New York University created the model in 1931 (two years of course work followed by an internship), and most programs are copies or variations. The reformers wanted to make the internship a central part of training. Too often, Meade said, the internship was too short or was disconnected from the rest of the training. After course work came an internship, during which the student rarely communicated with either his advisor or anyone else in the department. The experience was reported and perhaps analyzed in isolation; the student graduated and went to work, perhaps for the system in which he interned. Despite widespread dissatisfaction with the internship, changes have been of the tinkering variety. Some schools are experimenting with short internships and "field stations," in which a group of interns is placed in different parts of a single system. These students then discuss and compare experiences.

Staying Within the System

It ought to be clear that the single thread running through these reforms is the sanctity of the existing system. Reform from within led to expansion of the schools of education. The reformers supported by foundations and the Office of Education (in the case of NPEL) urged use of the university's total resources. No one argued for training outside the university's control; few worried about in-service training for those already on the job.

Reformers outside the school of education were doubtful, or even contemptuous, of the ability of the schools of education to train school administrators for a rapidly changing world. Howe wrote in 1962 of "those well-entrenched professors of education who are devoted to the over-analysis of the obvious."[14] The reformers believed then (and continue to believe) in the ability of the major universities to do the job. Meade believes that the original Seven University Consortium Project would have been more successful if the programs had been the responsibility of the total university: "We should have re-emphasized that idea, especially with the university administration, instead of expecting the schools of education to carry such a message and mission."[15]

The task of reforming training for educational administrators fell to the academic community by default. The practicing administrators and their organizations never had the dominant influence, and debate has been between the "within-education-school" faction and the "within-university" faction. There was never any question of training outside the boundaries of the universities.

It was as if there has been an unspoken agreement among the reformers in the 1960's that only the administrators of the future would be experimented with. Professional influence — the superintendents' reluctance — may have been a factor; more than likely it was the reformers' conviction that a fresh start with young people was possible and better. Their bias was that most superintendents couldn't really be retrained anyway. The argument goes this way: "If reform has to use the education schools, bad as they are, then at least reform ought to begin with unpolluted minds." The Ford Foundation was interested in reforming training programs and not in retraining those already on the job, according to Meade, who helped design the Seven University Program:

> We had two options: help the university reform its program for educational administrators, or create new and separate programs. We picked the first option. Such a strategy did not mesh with retraining those on-the-job, but if we had gone that route it would have required a different strategy. Further, it was an issue that was of little or no interest to universities at the time we started.[16]

The impact of these reforms is difficult but not impossible to measure. Educational administration is now spoken of by some as a science, and the commonalities of administrative behavior in all sorts of areas (including schools) are being studied. Superintendents now have more training than their predecessors, and the administrative hierarchy has many new positions between principal and superintendent.

The graduate training, however, may not be essentially different today from what it was years ago. Despite all the discussion of interdisciplinary programs, only Harvard's Administrative Career Program and a few others have dropped the requirements for a formal dissertation and have substituted a project and internship. Contradicting Miklos' observation, a 1971 study concluded that the doctorate programs established since 1959 were actually less adventurous than programs in the older schools of education.

> It was hoped that marked differences might emerge between the old and new institutions indicating new trends in preparation of students embarking upon doctoral study in education. Such was not the case. It has often been felt that new institutions are afforded opportunities to experiment

> and to innovate without the traditional barriers and pressures impinging upon long-established colleges and universities. However, it may well be that the need for recognition and acceptance places new institutions in a less favorable position with the result that imitation of established practices is given greater priority in the formative years than the setting up of new and experimental programs.[17]

Donald Mitchell's excellent study *A Look At The Overlooked* is not hopeful about the possibilities of reform:

> Those who believed it possible to change higher educational institutions and thus affect the input into educational administration must concede that, as presently structured, these institutions do not have the necessary flexibility to adopt promising innovations. Programs at institutions offering advanced degrees in educational administration have a great deal in common.[18]

Mitchell has only just begun a program of his own design in educational administration at Nova University in Florida.*

Mitchell may be right. The institutions may not be able to adopt promising innovations, but reform did bring change. The most striking change, which is at least in part attributable to the reform movement (and its money), has been quantitative: the rapid growth of educational administration as a field of study. Between 1940 and 1970, the number of U.S. institutions offering degree programs in educational administration tripled. In 1972, there were 362 such institutions.* Thirteen new programs opened their doors between 1970 and 1972, and the UCEA predicts — though it does not encourage — continued growth through 1980. The number of professors has doubled (to 2,050) since 1960. In 1970, 5,836 doctorates in education were awarded and 1,427 of these were in educational administration, five times the number awarded in 1960. Of the 79,841 master degrees in education, 8,946 were in educational administration.[19]

The changes in certification requirements also stimulated growth. The AASA requirement for two-year programs not only meant that individuals had to have more training; it also meant that individuals had to have more training; it also meant that institutions offering

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* Appendix A

* Depending on who is counting. The AASA identified 295 institutions in its 1969-70 survey.

only one-year programs had to expand to survive, for no prospective administrator would want to attend a graduate program that did not enable him to earn his credentials. There was an inevitability about the expansion, according to the UCEA, a sort of "keeping up with the Joneses" logic. The department with a one-year graduate program went to a two-year program. Schools which already had a two-year program began doctoral programs, and those already awarding degrees in education branched into educational administration, at one graduate level or another.

One can speculate — and we intend to — about the quality of training available to educational administrators, but there can be no mistake about the quantity. There are too many certified administrators, and the graduate schools of educational administration are producing more each year. The market is already glutted, and perhaps we will see wholesale "reform" — forced by economic necessity — of schools of education and their departments of educational administration. If this surplus and its attendant consequences are the major impact of the reform movement, that ought to be irony enough for anyone. Perhaps reform from outside (and largely for reasons of value) never has much impact when the institutions being reformed hold different values and really do not feel the need to reform. That may be what has been occurring.

The progressive forces wanted to change the departments of educational administration. The result: the number of programs tripled, the period of study for certification lengthened, and the number of graduate degrees jumped. Just what effect the reforms have had on those who teach educational administration, and how they teach it, is the subject of the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For history and analysis see Hollis A. Moore, Jr., "The Ferment in School Administration," in *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, Daniel E. Griffiths, ed. (Chicago, 1964), pp. 13-29.

[2] American Association of School Administrators, Washington, D.C. 1958.

[3] Every study of educational administrators bears this out. See, for example, *The American School Superintendency*, AASA. (Washington, D.C., 1972).

[4] Personal interview and correspondence, July, 1973, and January 1974.

[5] Telephone interview, December, 1973.

[6] NPEL brochure, undated.

FOOTNOTES (Cont.)

[7] Erwin Miklos, "Training-in-Common for Educational, Public and Business Administrators," The UCEA series on Administrative Preparation, 1972. Number 4.

[8] Ibid, p. 43.

[9] Ibid, p. 12.

[10] Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1, 2. (Sept. 1956), p. 238.

[11] Miklos, op. cit., p. 10.

[12] "Preparation for the American School Superintendency," AASA. (Washington, D.C., 1972), p. 12.

[13] Harold Howe II, "The Care and Feeding of Superintendents," *Saturday Review*, (February 17, 1962), p. 59.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Meade interview.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Neville Robertson and Jack Sistler, "The Doctorate in Education: The Institutions," Phi Delta Kappa and AACTE, (Bloomington, Ind., 1971), p. 10. Cited in Donald P. Mitchell, *A Look at the Overlooked*, Academy for Educational Development. (New York, 1972), p. 30.

[18] Mitchell, op. cit., p. 30.

[19] The figures are from the AASA, the UCEA and the National Center for Educational Statistics in the U.S. Office of Education.

CHAPTER FIVE
NEITHER WISELY NOR TOO WELL

The previous chapter took a generally dim view of the attempts made during 1950-72 to reform the training of educational administrators. That examination led to our assertion that the greatest change was quantitative. There are three times as many departments of educational administration now as there were in 1940, and twice as many professors as there were in 1960.

The quality of the post-reform training is difficult to gauge. Only a few of the new institutions have been adventurous, and there have been few sharp changes in the programs of older institutions. We know that administrators now go to school longer, but more is not necessarily better.

There is another way to evaluate the training, and that is by examining the facilities of educational administration. Who teaches the future administrators? What issues concern them deeply? What is their own training and background, and how different are the professors now, after years of pressure for reform?

This chapter uses data from several sources[1] to provide a profile of the full-time and part-time faculty members. The chapter concludes with our speculation about what lies in store for departments of educational administration, now that the demand for principals and superintendents is decreasing and money to support the departments is scarce.

It is conventional wisdom among prominent professors and scholars of educational administration that "[there] appears to be a rapidly growing training capability, on the one hand, and diminishing training needs for traditionally defined populations of educational administrators."[2] Translated, that means that schools of education and departments of educational administration are turning out would-be administrators in increasing numbers but there simply aren't enough jobs.

School superintendents, principals, and other currently employed administrators react to this news in different ways, no doubt. Some visualize a horde of ambitious, hungry young talent crying for jobs. Other incumbents see a larger pool from which to draw talented assistant superintendents, principals, and specialists.

There is another perspective from which to examine the continuing surplus of educational administrators. That is that despite the clamor for change, educational administrators are by and large being trained in the same ways by the same people, only in greater numbers.

Where Do Professors Come From?

The cliché that superintendents come from the ranks of coaches and physical education teachers has some validity. Seventy-five per cent of today's superintendents coached along the way, but that does not mean coaching is a proving ground or a recruiting center. In fact, a great many teachers serve as coaches during their careers without ever risking promotion to administration, and probably without even wanting it.

A comparable cliché about professors of educational administration, that they are former superintendents, contains more truth. In a typical department, over 90 per cent of the full-time and part-time faculty are former administrators. In three-quarters of the department, every faculty member was once a school administrator.

"Former administrator" does not mean that everyone reached retirement age in the administrative position and then retreated to the university, but the data on age suggest that this was the case for quite a few. The average age for full-time faculty members is 47.6 years. Only 17 of the 949 full-time faculty surveyed by the AASA were under 30 in 1969-70, and fewer than 25 per cent were under 40; 355 were over 50, and almost 15 per cent were at least 60. The oldest was over 80.

We are not using age as an indication of unwisdom or incompetence. However, the figures do support the conventional views of professors of educational administration: most spent their first careers in administration, and teaching is their second career. The information on age gives the lie to the view that all professors are retired administrators; if that were true, the average age would be closer to 60, not 47. But the data on age do support the observation that few people join the faculty at an early age.

The "second career" is a popular notion among school superintendents, and judging from conversations overheard and participated in, the professorship is thought of as a sinecure, a well-deserved rest from the storms of public school administration. Undoubtedly it is a quieter life, but whether students gain from the arrangement is open to question. It is not a self-evident truth that "those who can do can also teach," to turn that old saw on its head.

It could be that superintendents lack the habit of reflection so often found in excellent teachers. Superintendents on the job hardly have time to reflect. Perhaps former superintendents are best suited to teach the "nuts and bolts" courses on running a school or a district, but those are precisely the courses that must be "unlearned" on the job, according to a former superintendent and chief state school officer in a populous Eastern State. "Just teach students to read, write, and think

clearly," he said. "Every district already has a system, and that's where the 'nuts and bolts' ought to be learned." Perhaps the cliché "those who can't do, teach," should be discarded, not just stood on its head. Let's substitute, "Some do, some teach, and some few can do both."

Professors and Superintendents: The Echo Effect

The basic facts about those who teach educational administration sound remarkably like the description of today's superintendents. Almost all are male, white, Protestant, and Democratic by political preference. Only 20 per cent are from urban areas and about half were reared in the Midwest. And they are fairly well paid: over 75 per cent earned at least $15,000 (1969-70 data) and the average 12-month salary was $17,915. Almost half are full professors and almost 80 per cent are at least associate professors and are tenured.[3]

The 2,400 full-time and part-time professors teach in 360 departments ranging in size from 27 to one professor. Ninety per cent of the departments are accredited by one agency or another. There are 25,000 students of educational administration (1969-70 figures), only 4,200 of whom attend full-time.[4]

Like the faculty (and like practicing superintendents, for that matter), the student body is predominantly male (90 per cent), and the average age is 33. Only 35 per cent hope to be superintendents someday, according to departmental records and estimates, but not all of those will make it. There are only about 15,000 superintendents in the entire country, and the superintendency resembles a revolving door: most of the recently-departed superintendents simply go back in another door. That is to say, the rate of exit from the profession (not from a specific job) is much too low to accommodate all aspirants.

What kind of training do the 25,000 students of educational administration receive? The student has more courses to choose from than a decade ago because almost every department has added courses. Nearly three-quarters of the institutions responding to the AASA query said that they had added new courses since 1960-61. Only 29 per cent reported deletions. The traditional courses are still the most common: 25 per cent of the faculty report teaching the introductory course each year.

What The Faculty Believes

Some of the impetus for reform grew out of a concern that the faculty was overly homogeneous and perhaps mediocre, but not very

much reform energy spilled over into faculty recruitment. The professors are still white, male, middle-aged, and so forth, but we hasten to avoid the conclusion that things have not necessarily changed, at least until we examine the data on the attitudes and concerns of the professors.

A study done by the AASA concludes that many faculty members have specialized training and are urbane in outlook. However, the questionnaire went to department heads, who were asked to provide the information about the entire department. Reliable as that information may be about the background and current salaries of the entire department, the answers about attitudes and beliefs must be evaluated differently. Perhaps in some cases the department head surveyed his department; in other cases the head man may have just filled in the answers. We can only say with certainty that the attitude questions reveal what the head of the department *thinks* his department believes.

For example, the news that all faculty members have specialized training is suspect, since fully 20 per cent are reported to specialize in "General Administration." It may be that the open-ended question "Please indicate the specialization of full-time faculty member" (without any provision for "no specialization") pressured respondents into discovering or remembering special fields for every professor. Whatever the case, "General Administration" is the most common special field, followed by "Administrative Theory" (15.8 per cent of the professors) and school finance (10.4 per cent). That 15.8 per cent are identified as specialists in theory suggests an important change in departmental makeup. One of the reformers' wishes was that more intellectual energy be devoted to theoretical matters. If that many of the faculty have specialized training in theory, perhaps the pressure for change has had an effect.

The AASA study concludes also that faculty members are generally aware of and concerned about the same issues that trouble urban school superintendents. Asked to identify the major issues facing school superintendents, the department heads identified sociocultural issues (including and especially racial problems) as central. That was the urban superintendents' answer, too. Major issues 2-5 were money, school staff relations, innovations and the demand for change, and changes in values or behavioral norms. Clearly the heads of educational administration departments and the urban superintendents think along similar lines.

That ought to be good news. The professors are in tune with urban issues and concerns. The fly in this particular ointment is that the report comes from the department heads, who may or may not talk

with their faculty about this (or any other) issue. Even more disturbing is the fairly direct conflict between the AASA's information and the results of a survey by Roald Campbell and L. Jackson Newell.

Campbell and Newell's findings deserve careful attention. Their data support the conclusion that innovative programs are not likely to be generated from within (and origin from within is generally a good predictor of success). They agree with the AASA that the professors are fairly well paid, with more than 25 per cent making over $20,000 annually, and with an average salary of over $17,000. About one-third earn over $2,000 a year in consulting fees.

The professors may be fairly well paid, but apparently not well enough paid, judging from the responses to one of Campbell and Newell's questions. The professors were asked to rank the three most important considerations in evaluating a new job offer. A significant increase in salary was their first consideration. It was also the second and third most important consideration. Region of the country ranked fourth, behind money, money, and money, but ahead of more able students, promotion in academic rank, and increased research support.

Asked their ultimate professional goal, 39 per cent identified positions of status for themselves; only 15 per cent hoped to make a substantial contribution to knowledge, and only one in 20 hoped to contribute to the betterment of administrative practice!

When the AASA asked the professors to identify major concerns of superintendents, their answers correlated highly with those of urban superintendents. But when Campbell and Newell asked them to identify (from a list of 12) the serious problems facing their own field, they agreed that there weren't many. The professors, 98 per cent male, 95 per cent white, could not even agree that the absence of minority persons was a serious problem. Fifteen per cent saw it as a very serious problem, but nearly twice that number (29 per cent) saw it as no problem at all.

The contradiction is obvious. How can a faculty in tune with the concerns of urban superintendents be so out-of-touch as to see nothing wrong with their own 95 per cent white, 98 per cent male status? But which figures are to be believed? There was a great difference in survey techniques, of course. The AASA asked one man to speak for the department; Campbell and Newell surveyed individual professors. The weight of evidence is with the latter.

The Closed Circle

Campbell and Newell emphasize that professors of educational

administration at UCEA-affiliated universities do well in any comparison with their colleagues at non-UCEA affiliates. And we should note that similar surveys of dentists or lawyers, for example, might produce comparable results. But those relatively cheerful observations aside, we should not shrink from a forthright assessment of those who teach educational administration. The findings of the Campbell-Newell study may be interpreted to suggest that the profession is overly homogeneous, inbred, complacent, and parochial.

The overwhelming majority of professors are products of the education divisions of public universities, which amounts to a domino theory in reverse, a ripple effect gone bad. Almost all professors are practitioners — school superintendents and principals. It is a closed circle: study education, teach for a few years, work up the career ladder to a principalship or superintendency, acquire a doctorate in education along the way, and then snare an academic position. Practitioners become professors, and little or no distinction is made between theory and practice, between field conditions and the search for new knowledge, or between yesterday's and today's conditions.

Even the AASA statistic, that 15 per cent of the professors are specialists in the theory of educational administration, is open to question, as noted earlier.

Campbell and Newell have not written a broadside. They "suggest" or "sense" rather than "conclude." They also make recommendations, which are not unlike those made by the UCEA and others:

1) The faculty ought to be less homogeneous;

2) More professors should work in the basic disciplines (i.e., outside the schools of education);

3) The distinction between theory and practice ought to be recognized;

4) At least half of the departments of educational administration now operating ought to close their doors and disappear;

5) The other half of those departments ought to get better; and

6) The foundations and federal government ought to provide money for fellowships and research.

Campbell and Newell do not indicate how much recommendations might be put into practice, nor do they speculate on the possible effects. That would have required a different sort of book. Their recommendations bring up problems, however. What will make half of the departments of educational administration close their doors? What

then would happen to the professors stabled there? What are more fellowships for, if there are already too many professors training too many students?

The UCEA had made recommendations of its own concerning the preparation and certification of educational administrators, one of which has special significance for departments of educational administration. That is the UCEA's endorsement of "continuing education." An earlier paper by the Executive Director of the UCEA, Dr. Jack Culbertson, used stronger language to say the same thing. There are too many administrators and not enough jobs, he wrote. There are also too many would-be (that is, unemployed) teachers and professors of educational administration for the available jobs. Departments of educational administration and schools of education generally, Culbertson said, must adapt or disappear. To help them avoid the latter fate, he put forth ten strategies, couched in economic language. These strategies, he wrote, "offer institutions varied opportunities for expanding existing and underdeveloped markets for trained personnel or for creating new demands and for well prepared personnel through innovative program design."[5]

Alternative #1 is "continuing education," a choice that appears easier to swallow than #2 (cutting back the program) and #3 (radical redesign). Culbertson himself favors survival through diversification, that is, "continuing education" and more specialized training for newly-created administrative positions (planners, school finance experts, and the like). "Continuing education" means in-service training for the 15,000 superintendents and 2,303,000 other educational personnel in the country.

The Question of Quality

Perhaps we shouldn't quarrel with the UCEA, Culbertson, Campbell, Newell, and others who have the best interests of the profession at heart. They also are calling for change, and if departments of educational administration did begin to provide quality reeducation for large numbers of practicing school administrators, then the public interest (or our view of it) would be served. Quality is the snare. We question whether departments of educational administration are in fact capable of providing specialized training in school finance, or educational planning, and whether such training is necessary for superintendents of urban schools (it is necessary for their assistants).

It is no mere quibble to point out that the institutions' concern for a school superintendent's problems is contradicted by their lack of

sensitivity to severe imbalance and distortion in their own institutions. Reform must begin at home, which seems to mean that it is unrealistic to expect most departments of educational administration to provide high quality training for others for some time to come. Even those professors who were once good superintendents in large school districts may not now understand how conditions have changed, and how the superintendent's role has changed. Nowhere does the UCEA or anyone else argue emphatically for new directions to meet the needs of unequipped or underequipped public school administrators. Instead the economic case is made; get into continuing education and other new markets, or shut down the plant.*

Suppose the universities get into the business of continuing education. What then? Can the departments of educational administration "rise to the occasion," as one pamphlet put the question? It answers, "yes," because financial realities will force them to.[6] We are not optimistic. Thoughtful recommendations and financial exigencies notwithstanding, the new initiatives are likely to be directed by the same parochial, complacent, personally ambitious, well-paid, white men. We can hope that the faculty members will accept the changes urged upon them by economic circumstances and future-minded leaders. That hope, however, will not dispel the fear that by and large the departments of educational administration are simply unable to change that much.

It is not at all certain that departments have clearly defined the task. We see it as training the school superintendent to cope with a continuously changing environment in which he (and someday soon, she) is a recognized political figure, in the best sense of the term, who understands that school problems are smaller, distorted versions of society's problems. As an example, violence in schools often involves a school's own graduates and drop-outs. The school system may bring in the police or hire its own security force (New York City tripled its security guard force in 1973). Fences may be built, with guarded gates and ID cards issued to students and school personnel. But calling the cops is not our idea of interaction with the larger society.

The problem lies outside the school. The school superintendent must be able to move with ease and some power among those who can ameliorate the situation. That means civic leaders, the business establishment, state political figures, even Congressmen. Violence in the school is but a symptom of the larger social problems of unemployment

*The strongest statement: "Most of these (principals) and other practicing administrators face quite different situations than were present when they were prepared." (Culbertson, p. 30)

and alienation. Unemployment is the main cause, even though it may be the least amenable to solution. Kids with meaningful jobs don't have the time (though they may have the inclination) to disrupt schools.

We want to make the point that quality training may not result from more credit hours, more specialized courses, and an internship, if the faculty is left over from an earlier era. Continuing education is an obvious necessity, but who will first re-educate the faculty of educational administration?

Our long-range view is slightly more hopeful. Some schools of education have changed their recruiting practices. More black, brown, and female people are entering training. Such qualities as courage and ability to deal with conflict are considered in the selection process. And the relatively high salaries of administrators and associated specialists should, over the long haul, attract more capable candidates.

What Will Adaptation Mean?

Over that same long haul many departments of educational administration will adapt.[7] How are they adapting already? The prestigious UCEA-affiliated departments have led the way in producing specialists in the theoretical aspects of administration and in designing specialized curricula with broad choices for students intent on specializing. The 53 UCEA affiliates graduated 52 would-be professors in 1973, 39 with doctorates. 58 of the 81 prospective professors to come out of these institutions in the past two years have had specialized training in administrative theory.

The advice institutions are getting is to specialize further, to provide "narrow training with an emphasis on requisite skills."[8] We wonder aloud whether in-service training might not be a more appropriate time for such narrow specialization, leaving the pre-service training period to build a firm, broad foundation in the liberal arts and the sciences. But that's not what *Educational Futurism 1985* predicts:

> School systems will become exceedingly complex. Specialization in position and role will continue with significant increase in the number of specializations required to form functional administrative teams. Many, if not most, of these specializations will require specific and rather narrow training with an emphasis on requisite skills. The traditional trilogy of buildings, buses, and bonds together with such new areas of administrative concern as computers, community action, and collective bargaining requires staff with intensive but specialized training.[9]

Those departments which do not adapt will not survive (or they may look dead without dying) unless they are absorbed into their parent institutions. Absorption and even disappearance can also be indications of the health of the entire system; indeed, public education will not collapse if every school of education is forced to do some severe belt-tightening.

The Irony of Reform

But the ironies should not pass unnoticed. The reforms begun by Kellogg and carried on by the U.S. Office of Education, the Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller foundations, the UCEA and the AASA, and other agencies have not accomplished their goals. The money crunch will bring change, and probably in short order. The shortage of dollars and students will force some departments to close up shop and make others improve their programs, but it may mean also that the most progressive elements will be the first to go. Young, or minority, or progressive faculty — the last hired — are usually the first fired, particularly since roughly 80 per cent of the veteran professors are tenured. Programs supported by "soft money" usually disappear when the money dries up, and innovative programs rarely outlive their charismatic founders. If new faculty members and "soft money" are the main supports of innovative programs, those programs probably will not last. Yet there is room for optimism. Some of the changes in problems, faculty and students will persist despite the coming retrenchment, and they will influence what remains of the department.

More to the point, however, is that most school superintendents are already on the job. They need help, and the departments of educational administration do not seem likely to provide it. The AASA report wryly observed:

> Institutions of higher learning concentrate their resources on the pre-service education and do relatively little for the continuing professional development of school administrators.[10]

The new enthusiasm among influential academics for continuing education for school superintendents and principals is of course questionable and may well be self-serving; witness the UCEA recommendations and their rationale discusssed earlier. Even so, such an approach is prima facie good sense. There are already too many certified administrators for the available jobs. It does not make economic sense to keep producing them. Whether continuing education makes sense

for superintendents and principals depends a good deal on what it turns out to be. It may seem to some observers that the professors of educational administration need a good dose of continuing education themselves.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Some explanation of the data is in order. The following profile is derived from four sources: The AASA's *Preparation For The American School Superintendency:* a paper by UCEA Executive Director, Jack A. Culbertson; the results of a survey by Roald F. Campbell and L. Jackson Newell; and Donald Mitchell's *A Look at the Overlooked*, a recent study of principals. It is always risky to combine data, even such uncomplicated information as this. The AASA data are from a 1969-70 survey, and the other data are more recent. That undoubtedly explains some of the discrepancies. The AASA counted 295 departments of educational administration while the UCEA two years later counted 362. The AASA estimates there are 2,050 professors of educational administration, and the UCEA says there are 2,400. But even with the variations, it is safe to generalize, since the four studies generally agree. Where they differ (on the professors' attitudes and beliefs), more evidence is presented in the Campbell and Newell study, as we shall see. The sources: Jack A. Culbertson, "Alternative Strategies of Program Adaptation within the Future Time Frame of the Seventies," paper prepared for UCEA Career Development Seminar, October, 1972; Donald F. Mitchell, "A Look at the Overlooked," Academy for Educational Development (New York, 1972), pp. 24-37. See also "The Preparation and Certification of Educational Administrators: A UCEA Commission Report" (Columbus, Ohio, January, 1973); "Preparation for the American School Superintendency," AASA (Washington D.C., 1972); Roald F. Campbell and L. Jackson Newell, "A Study of Professors of Educational Administration: Problems and Prospects of an Applied Academic Field," UCEA (Columbus, Ohio, 1973).

[2] Culbertson, op. cit., p. 4.

[3] The national figures — all faculty members, not just those in departments of educational administration — offer a marked contrast. Over 20 per cent are women, only 50 per cent are tenured, the average age is not much over 40, and the average salary (for 9 and 12 month employees) is slightly under $15,000. There is one striking similarity, however; roughly 95 per cent are white. The national figures are in Alan E. Bayer, "Teaching Faculty in Academe: 1972-73," Research Report by the American Council on Education, Vol 8, Number 2 (Washington, D.C., August, 1973), pp. 23-32.

[4] "Preparation for the American School Superintendency," op. cit., pp. 13-14.

[5] Culbertson, op. cit., p. 38.

[6] Daniel Creamer and Barbara Feld, "Some Innovations in the Training of Educational Leaders," The Conference Board (New York, 1972), pp. 68-71.

FOOTNOTES (Cont.)

[7] One sign of the re-education is the UCEA's Assessment Project, called "Educational Administration Twenty Years Later; 1954-1974," the central purpose of which will be 'stock-taking'. Leaders include Max Abbott, Roald Campbell, Jack Getzels, Daniel Griffiths, Andrew Halpin, H. Thomas James, and Donald Willower. The project has developed some 'guiding statements':

1. The central purpose of the 1954-74 Project should be "stock-taking"; we should be able to assess where we are and identify items on the professional agenda not yet completed by examining where we have been.

2. The general focus should be upon the knowledge base in educational administration, however, the treatment should be encompassing and examine knowledge from such differing perspectives as research, development, preparation, and administrative practices.

3. The project planners should recognize that the external "environment" of educational administration is a much more critical variable today than it was in 1954; today there is a "Nader's Raiders" atmosphere and considerable disenchantment with all societal institutions, including those involved with education.

4. The Project should produce a book which would present major findings and generalizations.

5. Some of the chapters in the book might be developed historically from the past to present; others might well begin with the present and seek to illuminate it (and even the future) through an exploration of the past.

6. A major strategy should be to determine how current and future-oriented questions differ from those posed in and since 1954.

[8] Walter A. Hack et al, *Educational Futurism 1985: Challenges for Schools and their Administrators*. (Berkeley, Calif., 1971). Cited in James F. McNamara, "The 1973 Prospective Professors of Educational Administration," UCEA *Newsletter*, XV, 1 (October, 1973), p. 12.

[9] Ibid.

[10] "Preparation for the American School Superintendency," op. cit., p. 12.

CHAPTER SIX: THE SUPERINTENDENTS' NETWORK AND PROJECT OPEN

The picture so far may look bleak. (1) Americans expect too much of their schools and tend to blame the superintendent when things go wrong; (2) the superintendent is, generally speaking, unprepared by experience or training for the job; (3) commendable energy has been given to reform of professional training these past 20 years, but it has been largely misguided, or so hindsight tells us; and (4) the departments of educational administration are not the best place to look for meaningful, challenging reforms in the training of educational administrators. All, however, is not bleak. We think that meaningful reform may be under way in the Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN, and this chapter and the next tell the story of the slow emergence of this new approach to the re-education of superintendents.

The Superintendents' Network did not spring full-blown from the mind of any one person, but the idea did grow out of a process set in motion by Dr. Donald N. Bigelow, in the Office of Education. Bigelow himself would be the first to point out that there have always been networks of school superintendents, both formal and informal. What distinguishes the Superintendents' Network from those others is a philosophy, a body of theory, procedural strategies, and federal support.

The development of the Superintendents' Network has been neither linear nor chronological, both of which descriptive frameworks are often historians' conveniences. It emerged painfully from the federal experience in education in the 1960's, especially the TTT (Trainers of Teacher Trainers) program and PROJECT OPEN, an intensive yet undernourished effort to consolidate and exploit the findings of the $40 million TTT program. It is a story of men and ideas, and of the struggle to make those ideas work.

There have been massive efforts since 1959 to bring about educational reform, but only bright patches of success here and there. There has been no thorough review of the past 15 years to determine why the bright bits and pieces did not make a whole, but the administration of PROJECT OPEN in the Office of Education has tried to pinpoint some of the reasons for failure:

> Institutions have a propensity for absorbing and neutralizing "reformed" individual teachers and pockets of reform, and then continuing unchanged.
>
> It is virtually impossible to bring about any extensive replication of successful projects, because success in a

given situation necessarily comes from the interaction of specific people in specific circumstances, and through a developmental process that cannot be replicated.

In the case of most teacher training programs, the aura of success was produced by the stipend and fellowship money for participants and by the extra program support money for faculty activities. When the funds stopped, the programs stopped; when the fellowships and summer stipends were withdrawn, any real effort at serious change was eliminated.

There is a growing aversion at all levels of our society to prescriptions or directives, from above or from outside — and a growing desire at all levels for maximum participation in deciding one's own (and one's own institution's) fate.

The Office of Education's and foundations' strategy of funding the "good guys" to take up cudgels against the "bad guys" of American education overlooks the inescapable interdependence of both those groups.[1]

The major funding agencies concentrated their strength on each of their programs separately, overlooking not only the possibility of cooperation but also the interdependence of all parts of any social equation. Examples of these contradictions abound: the division of education into "higher" and "lower" institutions; the separation of scholarship from teaching, as if they were two different activities; and the usual relegation of teacher training to departments and schools of education. There was little more than lip service to community councils, and no one, except through the courts, tried to deal openly with those two inseparables, education and politics.

Programs and Policy: Which Comes First?

It may be that programmatic considerations always outweigh questions of policy, and it may be that program administrators always shy away from politics. But our present decisions are inevitably shaped by the past as well as by our imaginings of the future, and surely better social policy is produced when those in power are consciously aware of the effects of past decisions.

Bigelow, a former history professor, is in fact a bureaucrat with an eye on the past. In his view, the significant bill was the National

Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA), one consequence of which, he says,

> . . . was that the Office of Education came fully alive for the first time in the twentieth century. This occurred not only because of the greatly increased amounts of money that were made available to it, but also because the Office filled a vacuum in American education. While it never had the prestige of the Ford Foundation or of the National Science Foundation . . ., it outdid them in every other way. It was involved in issues of great consequence and was unrivaled in importance.[2]

The renaissance was not only fiscal, although that was dramatic. In 1957, the Office had 564 employees and a budget of $273 million. By 1966, the budget had increased to $3.34 billion, and there were 2,093 employees. The biggest chunk of the increase was for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), for which the Congress appropriated $1.15 billion in 1966 and $1.34 billion in 1967, but NDEA was the forerunner.

Notions about large-scale national social engineering were as important as the money. Policy was the storm center, and federal control of education was a common fear. Those fears pretty much explain the "Defense" in the Act's name; tying the legislation to national defense forced the Congress to choose between two of its concerns: protecting the country from "godless communism" and "preserving local control of schools." After Sputnik, the choice (between non-issues) was an easy one. NDEA passed.

Bigelow's early experience in OE was with the summer institutes authorized by NDEA. Primarily for secondary school teachers, those institutes were discipline-oriented: English, history, math, and so forth. From that experience, an important lesson emerged: summer institutes could change individual teachers but they didn't change schools very much. Nor were the latter much influenced by two subsequent NDEA fellowship programs which Bigelow administered. Like the institutes, the fellowship programs were people-oriented, built on the notion that since people were the building blocks of institutions, those institutions could be improved if the blocks knew more and were "better" people.

That philosophy of change had great currency in the early and mid-60's; the ideas sound simplistic now, and perhaps they were then, but they were early and tentative steps in educational engineering. The congressional and local concern for local control meant that

federal intervention had to be — at least overtly — at the individual level. Bureaucrats with visions of broad reform had to watch their flanks carefully.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act

By the end of 1964, large-scale intervention in education was less of a threat, and there were new reasons for attempting it. The assassination of John F. Kennedy, the civil rights movement, the approach of genuine desegregation (as threat and promise), the new visibility of the poor, and the "education presidency" of Lyndon B. Johnson all contributed to the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965. The Congress had already enacted the Economic Opportunity Act and the Civil Rights Act, both landmarks of social legislation.

Concern for desegregation, pro and con, and for quality education merged in ESEA.[3] "Disadvantaged" children — many of whom were black, all of whom were poor — supposedly needed a boost to bring them up to middle-class levels. That may sound patronizing now, in a time when disadvantage is recognized as relative and often in the eye of the beholder (e.g., black is beautiful), but it was a posture agreeable to the majority of the Congress. The major flaw in ESEA as a vehicle of social change was not that Congressional posture, but the bill's lack of a unifying theoretical or philosophical base. Whatever understanding of the process of social change the bill's authors may have possessed, it did not survive the debate on Capitol Hill. The wheels of the House and Senate education committees ground slowly toward the acceptable common denominator, in this case, money. ESEA offered money in heretofore unimagined sums, particularly its Title I. The money had to be spent by

> . . . local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including pre-school programs) which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.[4]

And it was spent, $12.64 billion since 1966. There is evidence that some of the money was misspent, sometimes by uncaring or benighted localities, sometimes by concerned but bewildered officials, unclear as to what was meant by "improve" or by "special educational needs." Only "expand" lends itself to rather precise definition, and vast sums

of federal dollars made expansion possible. So programs followed money.

"Programs following money" is the closest thing to a philosophy of the process of social change that can be found in NDEA and ESEA, and it was and is inadequate. Local and state programs that were built around federal dollars disappeared, often without a trace, when the money stopped coming in. And institutions given "free" money have a strong tendency to use it to do more of what they have already been doing.[5]

The TTT Program

Discovering the truth of that observation was part of the experience of the Training of Teacher Trainers program (TTT) a creative, ambitious, and generally successful program which Bigelow orchestrated.[6] TTT was the first new program under the Education Professions Development Act of 1967 (EPDA), which provided impetus to the notion of reforming the training of teachers.[7] For reasons unrelated to its merits (it had not yet been evaluated), TTT did not expand after its first promising year, 57 projects and $11.9 million. Nevertheless, the $40 million spent over four years paid for the training of some 15,000 persons and efforts at reform in 57 universities.

TTT was based on two complex notions: 1) an equal voice (parity) for school, university, school of education, and community; and 2) the ripple effect of better trained teacher trainers training better teachers (which in turn would mean a better classroom experience for the disadvantaged). Parity was difficult and sometimes impossible to achieve, because the fiscal agent (almost invariably the university) was at least "primus inter pares." The ripple effect did not register on the measurement instruments then in use, and the institutions involved tended to absorb and co-opt the pockets of reform. The normal pressure for immediate results meant that TTT was not the wave of the future. Another lesson about social change began to emerge: power could not be distributed rationally and equally. Washington could not declare parity or buy it, or even negotiate it, for that matter.

The lessons of TTT and gleanings from the experience with NDEA Institutes, the fellowship programs, and ESEA took the form of a different theory of educational (and societal) change only after Bigelow became familiar with the work of Malcolm Shaw, a specialist in organization development. Both were keenly interested in general systems theory, and Shaw had considerable experience with education's problems, as a school board member and as a management consultant to school systems. His consulting firm, Educational

Systems and Design, was already working with several Office of Education programs, including TTT.

Shaw and ESD had become disillusioned with tradtional training techniques in industry, government, and education, because training sessions and programs seemed to have little effect on the institution within which managers and administrators were working. ESD began to drop its traditional lectures and case studies on "Techniques in Planning and Communication" and on managerial and organizational problems. It moved toward a newly-emerging field, initially referred to as organization development. Those who saw management development and institutional change as interdependent took the point of view that the only appropriate unit of change for an organization was the organization itself. Put in another way, taking people off the job for a training session or a problem-solving meeting really did not seem to have much impact on the organization. It was not enough to train managers, administrators, and other organization members. Rather, in some fashion, organizations had to diagnose their own problems and issues, relate to their own unique situations, and develop problem-solving skills and action programs. It also became clear that thinking of the organization as a unit of change was still an inadequate strategy, because the organization and its members were constantly interacting with different environments: political, social, economic, and personal. Shaw began to explore general systems theory, particularly its behavioral science aspects, in an attempt to develop a strategy for helping institutions increase their own effectiveness by relating more effectively to their constituencies, their environment, and their own members.

Bigelow, too, had reached the conclusions that individuals did not change simply by being "educated," and that institutions did not change within themselves. He and Shaw began to work on the refinement of the program's strategy. The language of general systems theory and organization development was useful in the educational context. For example, organization development maintains that changing an individual "within his own skin" alone is practically impossible in an organizational setting because of the organizational norms, constraints, traditions, and reward and punishment systems which delimit his behavior. The norms, constraints, and traditions must first be altered to create an atmosphere in which change can occur. Secondly, Bigelow's idea of involving the school with the university and with the community was compatible with the general systems strategies that ESD had been working toward.

Shaw had a basic mistrust of information-giving as a key to change. He had learned that changes in administrative and managerial

behavior could not be prescribed by mandate, lecture, or expert opinion. Similarly, Bigelow had become disenchanted with the effect of federal guidelines and the behavior of the institutions which were receiving federal money.

PROJECT OPEN Emerges

The question for both Bigelow and Shaw became one of designing processes which were "owned" by those involved in them, but which were also compatible with broad social and national purposes. Out of Bigelow's and Shaw's hours of discussion came, in late 1971, the first application of general systems theory to educational reform, through a process of inter-systemic interaction. Out of that came PROJECT OPEN and in due course the Superintendents' Network. PROJECT OPEN is an approach to "the readjustment of education to the larger society," a middle ground between prescriptive reform and "free" money.[8]

PROJECT OPEN hopes to avoid some of the mistakes of its forerunners. Part of the explanation for the failure of the earlier programs is that their goals and assumptions were never laid out completely. The institutes stressed cognitive development: if teachers knew more, they could teach more, and children could learn more. That exercise in naivete was shunted aside when OE went in for institutional remodeling. Summer institutes were downgraded because they were not ambitious enough. OE now wanted to change the institutions that train teachers and in that way change the public schools. The blame was placed in a new way on teacher training, and the institute program was phased out.

An Anti-Teacher Bias

The programs that were intended to change institutions also produced generally disappointing results, in part because of their failure to make their premises and anticipated consequences explicit. Many of the educational programs of the Johnson era were designed to "help poor kids." That was clear enough for some. Usually only implicit was an anti-teacher, anti-teacher-education cornerstone, and their hoped for (but unplanned) changes in teacher and school behavior. This is not to deny the legitimacy of criticism, which did not begin with James Bryant Conant, and much of which is valid today. Any program, however, that is built on the premise that teachers need to be changed ought to make clear, at least to itself, how the changes

are to come about and what their impact might be on the teachers' own regular behavior patterns and on the surrounding institutions.

But no one seemed to have thought about how the new (desired) behavior would fit with established patterns. The teachers, along with the schools of education, were the villains of the piece. It was the "good guy-bad guy" syndrome all over again, and yet the success of the reform depended at least on the cooperation and often on the "improved" behavior of the bad guys.

Over time, the assumptions of the reformers had shifted. "The teachers are in trouble" was the underpinning of the NDEA institutes. "The teachers *are* the trouble" was the assumption of later programs. ESEA assumed that more and better and earlier learning would enable "disadvantaged" pupils to "break the poverty cycle." But the central flaws remained. The availability of federal dollars, it was assumed, would stimulate new programs, which the money would then pay for. The anticipated results of the reforms were usually stated in non-specific terms (vide, Title I of ESEA) without adequate examination of what behavioral changes would be required to bring about those results. Seymour Sarason has observed that people and programs have standard operating procedures, and that

> any attempt to introduce change into the school setting requires, among other things, changing the existing regularities in some way. The intended outcomes involve changing an existing regularity, eliminating one or more of them, or producing new ones.[9]

Sarason notes that most planned change fails to consider those regularities or the impact of change upon them. Therefore, reforms fail. He cites the new math, the reform which was to bring joy to mathematics. Teachers were told to teach creatively. They were given new books (curriculum) and told how to use them, but the "culture of the school," in Sarason's term, was in no way changed. The setting in which those newly-retrained teachers were to function had not been affected by the retraining, and teachers easily fell back into their old ways. Sarason concludes that the new math was no more interesting than the old, and perhaps less effective. For Sarason, the lesson is that the planners did not admit or perhaps understand what they wanted to change.

The observation holds for superintendents, too. They must overcome their setting, the system, and their own training. The Superintendents' Network begins with the training, and PROJECT OPEN encourages reforms of settings and systems by those working in them.

Some Reformers' Assumptions

Sarason's observations can be applied generally to many federal programs, despite their more complex environment (his book is about schools and teachers, a relatively closed environment). An ESEA has as its goal social reform — a just society and equal educational opportunities. The general idea was that the poor would be able to compete if they were given a better education, which assumes that competition is for everyone and that education can be given. Equal results in either education or life were not the goals, only that the schools compensate for the disadvantages of poverty, racism, malnutrition, and perhaps a broken home. Money would supposedly enable the schools to provide the necessary compensatory education for the disadvantaged. School districts were expected to spend the money on the disadvantaged, but there were no teeth in this requirement.

Neither, apparently, was there an understanding of the school's or school district's own regularities: spend as equally as necessary on middle class and poor, but treat the middle class more equally. For reasons that have a lot to do with custom, political influence, and the middle class backgrounds of school administrators, money and comforts have generally been more readily available to middle class schools and their students. ESEA expected to redress the imbalance and to provide *more* for the poor, but the law made no provision for cushioning administrators from the angry cries of middle class parents who felt their children were being discriminated against, no provision to help a community understand its own discriminatory patterns, no provision for helping a district break away from its own spending patterns.

In fact, ESEA and other reforms tend to "blame the victim." A "poverty cycle" is such a construct, with no explanation of the causes of poverty other than individual deficiency. The poor can escape their condition through ambition, hard work, education, and so forth. Society provides the opportunity, and if the poor do not jump at the chance, that is their personal failure of judgment, will, or character. "Blaming the victim" stands in the way of understanding the complexity of the problem and in the way of a community's acceptance of the changes it will have to make in its own behavior. The architects of ESEA assumed that there would be no insurmountable barriers to spending extra money on the poor, when in fact even that required changing the existing regularities of thinking about (and spending money on) the poor. Because there was no preparation for these changes, they often didn't occur. ESEA dollars often went for services equally available to all school children, and in some cases for goods and services available only to non-poor, or for administrative functions.

The relationship between public education and would-be reformers is very like that of Russia and Napoleon. "Fall back and wait until winter," the Russian strategy, might serve as the watchword of the national, state, and local educational establishments. And as for the reformers, their campaigns have been as unknowing (and often as offensive) as Bonaparte's.[10] The education establishment rolls with the punches; it doesn't counterattack the reformers' charges of "unequal educational opportunity" or "death at an early age." It gives ground and absorbs the blows. As strategy it is brilliant, although the consequences for children, the pawns of the battle, are unknown.

For their part, the reformers have had no master strategy. Their chief weapon is money, which they throw at the enemy. They also come armed with strident rhetoric and what Donald Schon calls the "center-periphery model" of improving education.[11] They are in the center, of course, with a model of a better school, if the schools will only adopt it.

The latest pack of reform-minded people carries only money — no rhetoric, not even the center-periphery model. Their notion is that given "free" money the local educators will make the kinds of improvements they have always wanted but couldn't afford. Winter has come for the first group, which has fallen back in rags and tatters, its money and rhetoric spent. Cold weather lies ahead for the second group of reformers, who are pressing the attack with a new weapon, education revenue-sharing.

The Educational Leadership Program

There is another thread in the story of the emergence of the Superintendents' Network, and it concerns another program that Bigelow administered, the Educational Leadership Program, authorized under Part D of EPDA. It happened this way, as Bigelow remembers it.[12]

> Toward the end of fiscal year 1966, I learned that about $1 million of the fellowship money set aside for institutional aid was not going to be spent. I knew that OE had no programs specifically for administrators, so I proposed to my bosses, Nolan Estes (the Associate Commissioner of BESE) and Harold Howe II (the Commissioner) that we use that money and do something for administrators.

Why were you concerned about administrators?

> I didn't think it was right for the Office to ignore them, and I wanted to advance the idea that my division was not totally university-oriented, as everyone seemed to think (they were probably right, though).

What happened?

> Howe and Estes agreed, and we used the money for a conference to discuss "What OE should do for school superintendents." We spent the money to carry out some of the suggestions (mostly at the university level, by the way). They weren't very successful, in my judgment, because the universities simply didn't know what to do with school superintendents. When we tried to get proposals from the universities for "re-tooling" superintendents, we hit a dry well. But there was an important spin-off.

What was the spin-off?

> The Education Professions Development Act was in the works then, and we designed the Educational Leadership program. That program gave fellowships at salary level to school administrators. Later the program established the National Program in Educational Leadership (NPEL), to attract new, already successful people into school administration. That program got the Office involved in reform of administrator training just about the same time the Ford Foundation was designing its Seven University Program.

That program was also the beginning of Bigelow's involvement in training for school administrators, a first step toward the Superintendents' Network. His experience in TTT was a second step. His division was wrestling with the idea of parity and finding it all but impossible to achieve. Of the four groups (university, school of education, community, and public school), the public schools were the most difficult to involve. Bigelow mentioned the problem to Richard Foster, the Berkeley, California, superintendent of schools, and suggested that Foster meet with Estes, who had left OE to become superintendent of schools in Dallas. Estes was already running a TTT-sponsored "training complex" for teachers, which was designed to minimize the weight of the

traditions of the university, the school of education, and the public school. Foster's district had a school-based TTT prototype, and Foster had served as a consultant to the Dallas project.

Early in 1971 Estes and Foster met, at Bigelow's request, to discuss "parity" in TTT.

Why these particular men? Bigelow was asked.

> Because they were in influential positions, because they have dependable strengths and weaknesses, and because they are so different. All three criteria were important. We didn't want to create new power groups; we wanted to help those who already were in a decision-making position. We wanted leaders whose ability was a known quantity. We wanted Estes and Foster because as individuals they were so different; they were almost opposites in style and temperament. As our thinking moved beyond TTT and toward a new program, we reasoned that if two such different men could work together, the program must be valuable.[13]

Early Planning

The first plans[14] called for a national workshop for 12-15 urban school superintendents in Dallas in January, 1972, and a subsequent workshop for 250 superintendents, time and place to be announced, as well as a virtual "laundry list" of goals for study:

1. The nature of teachers needed for the urban setting.
2. The most promising approaches for the delivery of growth to the blacks, the Chicanos, and others denied in our culture.
3. Alternative strategies for changing the public school system.
4. Institutional racism in the schools.[15]

A second meeting in St. Louis produced a more specific thrust: "School superintendents need a means of training themselves for the current exigencies of their position."[16] The participants talked about a national "self-help" network of school superintendents:

> We were all in essential agreement that neither the means now used by school superintendents (busing, closing some schools, changing boundary lines) nor all the innovative practices had brought about equal (much less quality) education in our schools. . .

> The discussion revolved largely around the thesis that since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, schooling had been neither equal nor sufficiently effective, and there appeared to be little hope that either would occur unless something was done about the situation.
>
> The first priority was no longer how to increase the quality of education — that was falling fast. It was the more basic question of how to achieve true desegregation, the foundation of equal education both in constitutional as well as educational items.

In other words, how to desegregate without re-segregation, how to obey the law and still avoid white flight, and other equally grave issues. The first and foremost need was identified as

> open recognition by the school superintendents of their present predicament. Thereafter, we need to provide them help, by redirecting or changing the concepts of how they are able to develop the fundamental skills needed to devise and use the new tools.[17]

The St. Louis planners agreed on basic strategy: each subsequent meeting would be conducted according to the new principles and precepts they were espousing. "Group process" is an adequate, if vague, term for what they had in mind, as is "problem-sharing." In any case, the Superintendents' Network vowed to practice what it preached. There would be none of the lecture courses on open education that some institutions of higher learning were offering.

Instead, the Superintendents' Network — the term soon became common parlance — would train participants to apply general systems theory to problems of public education. Problem-sharing might lead to problem-solving, the planners believed, and on that note they planned a sequence of two and one-half to four days of "networking sessions" for superintendents (and principals, city officials, and perhaps school board members). They reasoned that their own initial experience — open and (relatively) anxiety-free discussion and acceptance of their problems, successes, and failures — could be duplicated. Those newly-trained school superintendents could then run sessions with their own staffs, with regional superintendents, and with other decision-makers in their cities. The possibilities of ever-increasing and increasingly effective national networks caught the imagination of the participants and prepared the way for the first national workshop of urban school superintendents in Dallas, Texas, in January, 1972.

General Systems Theory: A Primer

General systems theory is the underpinning of PROJECT OPEN and the Superintendents' Network. According to the theory, everything living is a system, and a part of many other systems. Likewise, every organization, institution, or social grouping is a system. Every system has both structure and function, and every system has boundaries through which stimuli and information from and to other systems pass. Life depends on the flow of information, which energizes and opens systems. The system which resists interaction and rejects or mistranslates information from other systems is closed and dying.

A school is a system. So are a city, a policeman on the corner, and the post office. The school has its own internal features and regular patterns, and it has an identifiable environment: kids, teachers, parents, PTA, NEA, AFT, the courts, ethnic groups, the neighborhood, business interests, generally held social mores, the school district itself, and the board it is beholden to.

For every system there are constants, the chief of which is change itself. Change can be positive or negative, and a system must be able to discriminate between life-giving and threatening change. Interaction is another constant condition of an open system. So, too, is diversity, within and outside a system. Because the environment is diverse, the system that is heterogeneous inside its boundaries is better equipped to understand and adapt to its environment. The diverse system is less liable to fall victim to castastrophe, as the ecologists have reminded us. The farmer growing a single variety of wheat can be ruined by blight, and the lesson holds for all systems: diversity is good insurance.

Information passes through the boundaries of a system, which decodes it into familiar language. Decoding is necessary because systems speak different tongues. School people think about different problems, use different terminology, and their system of values is different from those of builders or bus drivers. Teachers see things one way; students or administrators see them differently. But living systems must be able to decode properly, and often schools cannot. A familiar case of the uncomprehending system is the school district which hears black parents say that the schools are unfair to black children and translates that information only into a decision to hang pictures of famous black Americans in school corridors.

Systems mistranslate because of their natural tendencies to resist change and reject information that conflicts with comfortable, conventional beliefs. The healthy, living and growing system has to battle these tendencies; it has to learn how to gather and process new information, which means it must always be alert to new sources. A

healthy system must be able to separate valuable, energizing information from that which threatens to destroy it.[18]

Much of the information which energizes systems is gathered through the natural networks that connect them. A network is not a new idea. No person or system lives in isolation. Networks overlap the fragments of our ordinary lives, and of all systems. Sometimes we are conscious of them, and sometimes we are not. There are networks of individuals: friends, neighbors, school acquaintances, and business associates. Networks may be organized — like the American Association of School Administrators — or unorganized and even haphazard.

For the Superintendents' Network, the aim was pragmatic. What systems directly affect the schools, and how do they interact with the superintendents? How can superintendents influence the behavior of those other systems, if at all? Our general belief was and is that the larger systems impinging on the schools are not open to the public schools; i.e., they do not act as if they were interdependent with the school system. More simply, the superintendents and the schools do not have a sufficient voice in municipal decisions that affect school conditions. Other systems have not been open to interaction with the schools either ("keep the schools out of politics"), and school leaders themselves are loath to recognize the changes in their own positions. As schools have been given more responsibility for larger social problems of malnutrition, hunger, racism, poverty, the old pose that schools are above politics has become a liability. Schools are in the vortex, and to be effective a superintendent must possess an extraordinary combination of political, managerial, communicative, and interpersonal skills. The superintendent must be a community leader; he must understand that school problems are inextricably connected with the problems in other systems, and, therefore, insoluble without cooperation.

Dallas Leads The Way

The processes of connection, cooperation, and change got into full swing in Dallas in the first month of 1972. Eleven superintendents from major urban centers[19] met for three and one-half days. That meeting used Dallas' own unrest over desegregation as topic, with data about the city and the schools, and brought in 35 Dallas high school principals and key administrative staff members for one general session. (Those principals and key administrators later had a networking session of their own.) During the first full year, there were nine Superintendents' Network sessions involving over 70 superintendents (including some repeaters). The Superintendents' Network has also

developed in new directions. The spin-off includes citywide networking sessions of political leaders, a multi-city meeting which brought together superintendents, mayors, city councilmen, and school board members, and a school board-city council session. Some of the participating superintendents have gone on to lead similar networking sessions in their own areas or districts.

Dallas remains the best example to date of the possibilities of networking. Beginning with the original Superintendents' Network session, Dallas has been a part of networking sessions for school superintendents, administrative teams, principals, board members, and elected and unofficial city leaders. Dallas also became the subject of a film, "Education in Dallas."* This film and demographic data about Dallas have been used in other networking sessions to focus discussion on the problems facing urban superintendents, and particularly on the problems of desegregation. The film is effective with almost all groups, but it is particularly relevant for Dallas and urban or southwestern school superintendents. Perhaps that explains why Dallas — not just its schools — has been so involved in networking, including a pioneering "multi-cities" session that involved city managers, city council members, superintendents, and board members from seven large American cities.

The Superintendents' Network has changed along the way and expects to keep on changing. In the course of its development, it has come under the umbrella of PROJECT OPEN, which hopes to become a National Network of Educational Reform. The Superintendents' Network is already a part of that Network and soon there may be comparable networks of city managers or mayors. The Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN take the position that the educational system, its sub-systems, and all the societal systems that affect education are in need of major and minor readjustments to each other. The culprit is not the superintendent, or the school, or "education." We are all in this together.

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*Educational Systems and Designs, Inc., made the film.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The paraphrase is taken from a photocopy of A. Bruce Gaarder's "Readjustment of Education to the Larger Society" (Nov. 26, 1973).

[2] Donald N. Bigelow, "Educational Reform and the Office of Education: A Twelve Year View" (unpublished paper, 1971), p. 8.

[3] See Stephen K. Bailey and Edith Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969).

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FOOTNOTES (Cont.)

[4] A Compilation of Federal Education Laws (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 23.

[5] See Jerome Murphy, *Grease the Squeaky Wheel: A Report on the Implementation of Title V of ESEA, Grants to State Departments of Education* (Center for Educational Policy Research, Cambridge, 1973).

[6] See David K. Cohen et al. "The Evaluation of Federal Education Training Programs," a report to the National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development (Center for Educational Policy Research, Cambridge, December, 1971). Chapter V is a case study of TTT.

[7] The full story is in John Merrow, "The Use and Abuse of Discretionary Authority in the U.S. Office of Education," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard Graduate School of Education (April, 1973).

[8] Shaw later recalled the developmental process in this way: "The reality is that the PROJECT OPEN strategy, and particularly the Superintendents' Network strategy, were developed before any of us had read Donald Schon's *Beyond the Stable State*. Our major theoretical sources were Norbert Wiener, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, and Kenneth Boulding. From our point of view, at least in our experience, they came before Schon, and had mapped out the terrain of these issues long before his book was written. This is in no way to diminish Schon's specificity and clarity in describing processes and ideas which are congruent with PROJECT OPEN strategy. In fairness, however, I think we must say that the underpinnings for the strategy came from the sources I mentioned. Perhaps the simplest reference would be to collections called *Modern Systems Research*[1] and *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory*[2] both by Walter Buckley, who edited these and wrote another book on social change which was influential.

Our second strategical source was really the whole field of organizational development and sensitivity training, and that would include Chin, Benne, and Bennis on *The Planning Of Change*, Moreno's book *Who Shall Survive?* and many of the papers prepared under the aegis of the National Training Laboratories.

An Office of Education paper describes PROJECT OPEN in this fashion:

- It is non-prescriptive. Instead of offering grants or contracts as inducements to the adoption of Office of Education-favored programs, PROJECT OPEN aims to involve institutions, their members, and the surrounding society in a developmental process — entirely on their own terms — whereby goals are clarified, mechanisms of interaction are developed and a sense of ownership of ideas and processes results.

- It deals with anybody (inside or outside of schools), not just the so-called "progressive reform elements," and not solely within the framework of educational institutions.

- Instead of encouraging a "good guys — bad guys" posture of conflict, PROJECT OPEN assumes both self-interest and concern for the public interest in

FOOTNOTES (Cont.)

all of the contending individuals and institutions and exploits both of these kinds of interest. More specifically, it accepts as normal the propensity of every system (individual or institution, organization or group, social class, etc.) to seek equilibrium and to perpetuate itself.

- PROJECT OPEN has the neutral role of helping institutions and systems find ways of responding to their environment, utilizing both external and internal resources, while maintaining their own identity, values and convictions. PROJECT OPEN maintains that the life-oriented and self-sustaining interests of an institution can often be used to open it as a system so it can use better the resources and changing fields of energy which surround it.

- The core of the PROJECT OPEN strategy is that information and clarity can produce new kinds of engagements which are, in effect, increments of appropriate change. PROJECT OPEN builds on the knowledge and energy of participants and participating institutions and on carefully designed interventions to initiate engagements and to assure interaction.

- PROJECT OPEN serves as a link-pin, systematically gathering data from participants, processing these data to enable the participants to examine their own environments, their own institutions, and their own experiences in more productive ways. This requires staff support, not to sell programs or prescribed goals, but to gather and process data relevant to the specific participants, to clarify the issues to be confronted, and to facilitate the engagements and transactions.

- PROJECT OPEN calls for no participant stipends or fellowships, although a limited number of fellowships to support leadership development would accelerate the movement.

[9] Seymour B. Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), p. 63.

[10] The image is original with Bigelow.

[11] Donald A. Schon, *Beyond the Stable State* (New York: Norton, 1973), pp. 81-90.

[12] Personal interviews, August, 1973.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Bigelow took advantage of the structural flexibility of TTT to pay for the planning. TTT's 57 projects had been organized into six clusters, and the Southwest and West Coast Clusters each provided $7,500 for TTT activity related to school superintendents, so there was $15,000 to pay for planning.

[15] Planning document, March, 1971.

[16] Planning Document, October, 1971.
It was agreed that the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the

FOOTNOTES (Cont.)

Education of Teachers (another Bigelow project) would pay for the large national conference. The Study Commission was funded at $1 million and was under the direction of Professor Paul Olson at the University of Nebraska. The Study Commission later withdrew its support and the giant conference was never held. That may not have been a severe blow to the emerging Superintendents' Network, however, in light of subsequent developments. Olson's withdrawal meant a shortage of funds, which in turn meant smaller (but not shorter; the 2-½ to 4 day workshop model was not abandoned) meetings. Without exception, the sessions have been exceptionally productive; a workshop of 250 superintendents might have turned into a convention.

[17] Donald N. Bigelow, "The Spirit of St. Louis," unpublished paper (1972). pp. 2-3.

[18] Shaw later recalled the development of these ideas: We took Wiener's Cybernetic theory and the General Systems Theory previously referred to, and combined it with Behavioral Sciences Theory. That synthesis of ideas is an original ESD concept, or at least one which we named and identified as part of our efforts to deal with changing systems.

Out of our work in small-group training and group process, ESD had developed theories of small-group and interpersonal change, around the idea that individuals could only be open and available to others insofar as they as individuals had confidence in their capacity to maintain their own individuality and integrity (i.e., people need to be vulnerable, but they can only be vulnerable when they feel they can defend themselves). Much of this theory had been developed by Sonja Gilligan and is described in her book *The Heterosexuals Are Coming.*

Other sources: One was Walter Buckley's book previously referred to; the other was the work of Barry Commoner who had somewhat popularized General Systems Theory and Ecological Theory.

[19] Detroit, Miami, Louisville, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Baltimore, Atlanta, Berkeley, Dallas, Seattle and Portland. Two years later five of the eleven no longer held those superintendencies, dramatic evidence of the hot spot superintendents are in. The school superintendents from New York City and Washington were unable to attend because of emergencies in their districts. Those two cities have since hired new superintendents, also.

CHAPTER SEVEN: NETWORKING

The theory and strategies of PROJECT OPEN, especially the probing mechanism known as "networking," have been developing over the past two years. A networking session differs from the usual professional meeting in many ways. Each session is different, especially in the chemistry of the participants, but there are enough similarities of structure and activity to allow us to describe networking in some detail.[1]

The process begins with an invitation from a colleague or a friend and an explanation of the Superintendents' Network, its history and its goals. (One such invitation substituted alliteration for specificity: the Superintendents' Network is "developing ways of dealing with the dynamics of contemporary urban dilemmas," the letter said.) Next come about 50 pages of introductory materials, which not everyone will read. It consists of three to five short pieces with titles such as:

Education and Urban Change (8 pages)
Conflict (7 pages)
Systems for Change (4 pages)
General Systems Theory, a unifying framework (11 pages)
A Primer on Cybernetics (7 pages)

The last-named, for example, presents cybernetics in handy reusable metaphor: a non-cybernetic system is like a house with a furnace but with no thermostat. Install a thermostat and you have a cybernetic system. The thermostat provides information on the temperature inside the house and allows you to regulate the temperature. A non-cybernetic system has neither the information sub-system nor the regulating sub-system.

When we said that not everyone would read the material, we were reasoning like this: most participants* have been to numerous meetings of professional associations and have been exposed to a great deal of literature on education, organization, and so on. Therefore, the major thrust of the preconference materials is to establish a pragmatic approach to what is really worrying the participants, rather than focusing on theory and strategy. Participants find themselves very quickly immersed in the practical concerns they bring with them, but the format itself is designed to move them toward reflection and analysis at a broader conceptual level, even as they work pragmatically toward the solution of problems.

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*Who may be superintendents, principals, central administrators, city managers, and other public officials, middle-level and up.

Built-in Resistance

We expect a fairly high level of built-in resistance to the session, the direct result of too many workshops and professional meetings. Not only is the resistance anticipated, but most of the forms it will take are known. It is safe to predict that many participants arrive at the session thinking "I've been to hundreds of these things, and they are a good opportunity to renew friendships, but the activities are a bunch of garbage." Or, "We don't need theory. We want practical stuff."

While networking is not built on a dichotomy between theory and practice, that ubiquitous mode of thought is recognizable. Some of the material is designed to break down resistance (largely by being different from most workshop material) and to reach beyond that common mode of thought, so that participants will interact — during and after — in more and different ways and with new systems.

There is no "theory pill," sugar-coated with "practical stuff." In fact, the direction and distance a session travels is generally up to the participants. The "sugar-coating" image is perhaps inappropriate, because the goal is not explaining and selling theory, but participation in the process called networking.

We believe that school administrators already know how to manage and communicate: and they know a great deal about what should be done. In large measure, training for an experienced administrator is often a process of enabling him to act on what he already knows. For example, most administrators know that ordering changes in behavior usually does not work. They know it from experience, from educational and learning theory, and from the behavioral sciences. Nevertheless, they still mandate. In a sense, then, the information which provides the superintendent a frame of reference for his own behavior is already present in large measure. The issue for most practitioners is to translate into action what they know and believe. So, rather than saturating the participants with more theory, superintendents are asked to tell each other what they know about dealing with critical issues in their own systems. They are asked to move back and forth between generalization and specialization just as they do in real life. On the one hand, they must act in a specific situation, but on the other hand, they must respond to general policies, requirements, environmental factors, and a body of knowledge and theory. Theory and strategy inform action, while action contributes to the development of theory and knowledge.

As the participants move into specifics, they are asked to tell each other how they would react to real problems, and why. This only happens gradually, because most people feel vulnerable when they

begin to disclose how they would handle a specific situation (they are afraid their behavior will be analyzed attacked, or second-guessed) and because they have learned through experience that explaining their individual actions may be somewhat ego-fulfilling but has very little impact on how others behave. As the superintendents get involved in performing tasks, they begin to talk about what they know and to analyze and categorize strategies, methods, and processes for getting things done. Gradually, as superintendents begin to share their hopes, aspirations, goals, and ideas, they also begin to share some of their concerns and even some of their fears. Quite early in the process everyone recognizes that most of his colleagues feel rather alone. One superintendent will explain that his job is more than a little tricky: the community is taking potshots at him; some of his own staff members are doubtful about some of his programs; the teachers, either individually or in an organized way, are pushing in different directions; and the school board is mandating solutions that he feels may be destructive. And as others test the water, candor, which might be impossible if the group included principals or board members, becomes possible. The group's homogeneity makes for a relatively quick development of trust. Because others in the group also feel somewhat isolated from their own staffs or feel the pressures of the community, it becomes fairly easy to begin to explore ways of dealing with these problems.

Mapping the Environment

It then is possible to make some generalizations about the environments in which public education occurs. In a sense, the superintendents can map their general environment and begin to pin down some of the unique elements of individual situations. This leads to two kinds of actions: 1) the beginning of a set of relationships in which a superintendent can clarify and reinforce his own perceptions of his environment. That may lead to confirmation of some of the things that he is trying to do; in other cases he may find his approach being contradicted, but in a constructive way, and 2) those parts of a system or environment which require special attention can be separated from the more general problems. For example, most urban school superintendents have problems related to integration and desegregation. Some of these problems can be generalized in terms of court orders, predictable social patterns flight from the cities, et cetera. Others are unique to specific cities, because some superintendents are dealing with fragmented, heterogeneous communities of blue- and white-collar workers, blacks, Chicanos, and other ethnic and racial groups.

Thus, the way in which one superintendent involves his community in dealing with problems of desegregation may be quite different from the route some other superintendent takes.

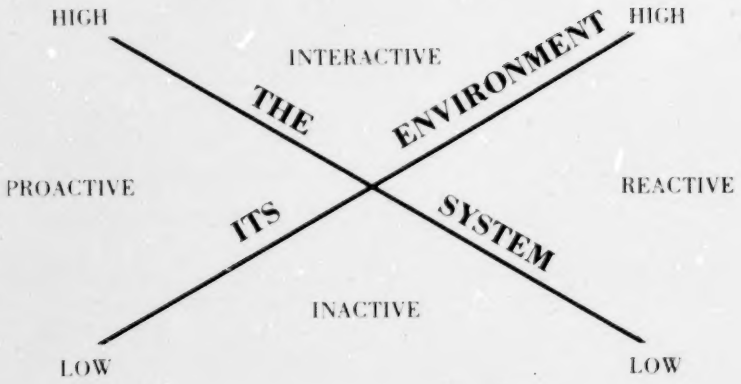
Early in the session there may be a discussion with the network session managers about some theoretical material, which may have been covered in the pre-reading. This discussion will be to explore new terminology for examining the various strategies and frames of reference that people use in tackling managerial and community action problems. After that explanatory session, the managers do not seem to do very much managing. They have not helped with the "map," unless the task itself was not clear. In fact, the professionals who run the session seem to wander in and out of the room from time to time, stopping occasionally to listen. They never sit down. If they are asked for help with a specific task, they probably will not satisfy the immediate request, but will ask if they can help clarify the earlier directions. A group that has arrived at a genuine impasse (perhaps involving strong disagreement) cannot assume the managers will bail it out. The managers will probably suggest that the group confront, rather than bury, the disagreement.

Four Categories of Behavior

Not only do the managers do very little apparent managing, they also refrain from writing prescriptions or making pronouncements. They might describe the identifying characteristics of several modes of behavior that the group is displaying (interactive, reactive, proactive, and inactive), but they will not categorize individual behavior. They leave that to the group.

Most of the superintendents in one group may be convinced that they need information, energy, ideas, and support from a wide range of sources, including their own staffs, the community, and the school board. To the extent that they believe that other individuals and groups have the capacity to help, either because of knowledge, power, or commitment, then (the theory suggests) the superintendents would adopt the "interactive" approach to the people and groups around them. That is, they join in problem-solving.

Or, a superintendent may feel that some components of his system or community have very little knowledge, capacity, or commitment, and that he has to take the lead if the school district is going to move in certain areas. That particular superintendent may, consciously or unconsciously, adopt a "proactive" mode of problem solving or communication with his environment. The diagram below pictures the possible relationships:



The high and low poles denote the capacity of a system to deal with its environment; capacity is determined by the system's knowledge, power, willingness to act, time available, status, and financial resources. In every case, the system's capacity is different, and in each case the environment's capacity to respond (or to act initially) is different. Consider a single school's (i.e., a system's) capacity to deal with one student on a matter of promotion or discipline. Normally we would consider that the school holds most of the cards; status, power, money, willingness to act, knowledge, and time are on the school's side. We would say that the school has a high capacity for dealing with its environment and that the student (the environment in this case) has a low capacity: not much status, power, or money. In such a case, we would expect "proactive" behavior from the school, and an "inactive" response from the student.

But if the environment is a different system, such as real estate interests, the school's capacity shrinks. One school or even a school district has little knowledge, power, money, time, or willingness to act in a relationship with real estate interests, but the actions of the realtors can affect the school (especially in the matter of the composition of the student body).

System's Capacity	Environment's Capacity	Likely Behavior
high	low	proactive—the system assumes control
low	high	reactive — the environment assumes control
low	low	inactive — nothing happens
high	high	interactive — a sharing or "give and take" approach

These are not hard and fast formulas, but they are a clear guide. The difficulty lies in assessing the capacities of the system and its environment. It is as hard to judge one's own capacity (or that of the system to which one belongs) as it is to weigh the capacity of one's environment. Nor is it easy or realistic to separate a single environment, that is, a single other system. One school has many environments: students, the courts, police, PTA, the "power structure," NEA, AFT, business interests, ethnic groups, up to and possibly including the bus drivers' union. There are also free-floating, intangible environments, like resistance to change, the national mood, and conventional wisdom.

Although the diagram does not suggest the "best" behavior, there is invariably a widespread tendency to assume that interactive behavior is best. Interaction simply sounds better. It conjures up a picture of fair-dealing, of give-and-take, of democratic compromise. Thus, when the problem-solving begins, a lot of superintendents — who are in reality a remarkably proactive lot — will select the interactive option as the best course of action. This happens despite the manager's explanation that no one behavior is always best, and that a given situation may call for either inactive, reactive, or proactive behavior. Often it is other participants who get things back on an even keel by focusing attention on the overemphasis on interaction. It is the interaction of the session itself that helps end the game some superintendents play when they choose interaction because they think it is the best behavior to exhibit.

A Real Problem

Up to now in a networking session, there have been two kinds of activities: 1) a close look at a school district's environment, its effectiveness, and those generalizable forces or features which all participants share, and 2) some general theory and strategies that are related to the on-going concerns of each individual system. Participants have had a chance to determine whether some of these theoretical concepts can provide a better "handle" for tackling problems, communicating, and coming to decisions.

The next planned activity provides an opportunity to test further the utility of theory in fairly realistic situations, such as the following:

> Five citizens with a serious grievance are waiting in your outer office. They tell you their problem: two secondary school pupils were sent home this morning for smoking in the halls. They were told they could not return until their parents met with the teacher and/or principal. The two students told their parents that dozens of others were smoking in the halls and that they had been singled out because they were activists who wanted certain changes within the school. The parents talked to each other, called several other community leaders, and now tell you, "We refuse to meet with this principal; he has already demonstrated that he is against the changes our children have a right to expect. We want our children back in school, and secondly, we feel strongly that the principal should be replaced because he is discriminatory."

This case generates quite a bit of discussion about communication between the principal and the superintendent. Some participants may maintain that, whatever happens, the superintendent must back the principal and must not make any commitments to the community members. Others feel that the problem is a basic policy issue, and that the rules for handling disciplinary problems should be sufficiently clear so that this kind of situation could not occur. Some superintendents may argue that there should be a student-faculty committee to handle disciplinary problems rather than a kind of one-man rule system. In any case, as the process continues, it will be clear that not everyone agrees on what should be done. Other approaches are explored: a different disciplinary procedure, better lines of communication to the community, or more training for the principals in dealing

with community issues. Each of the alternatives proceeds from underlying assumptions, which, when surfaced, lend clarity to the issue. Thus, some participants assume that community members are belligerent and hostile. Others take the point of view that school administrators are not especially responsible to the community.

The ideas implicit in the theory of being "interactive" begin to take on new meaning as participants question whether they, the principal, and the rest of the staff should be more interactive in developing policies and strategies for dealing with discipline and conflict. And how about the principals themselves? Do they tend to react, rather than initiate positive programs for community engagement and student involvement? This series of exercises can provide a rich source of data with which to examine existing practices and formulate new strategies.

Finally, the nature of the training design asks each small group to come to agreement on the stand it would take. This forces to the surface many of the issues that each participant has experienced in real life. How do you reach consensus when there are diverse views in a group? Do you, as an individual, help or hinder other individuals in shaking free from tradition and prejudice to develop a viable and constructive course of action?

The previous description does not do the networking process justice. It can be exciting, or funny, or tense: Exciting because of a new mode of analysis, real situations, and peer group stimulation. Funny because of the relaxed atmosphere of peers playing "a game nobody loses." Or tense, because of serious disagreement about the most or least appropriate solutions.

The preliminary information from the participants shapes the session to a large extent. So does the sponsoring superintendent, who probably was conscious of similarities and differences among districts and their superintendents when he drew up the list of those to be invited. If a topic of common concern emerged in the preliminary activities, the tasks will have a fairly specific orientation. Let's say that drugs were the first concern of most superintendents. The preliminary task of "mapping the environment" will focus on drug usage: who is using drugs, at which schools, what kind of drugs, the distribution methods, the school's ability to screen out non-school people from the building or campus, the use of police and under-cover agents, cooperation with city and state authorities, and so forth. As superintendents explore the real problem facing their systems they find that many spokes lead to the hub of a wheel. The group may have started talking about drugs in the school and moved to questions of school finance or staff training and development. Each of these areas may have certain

specific components from which participants can extract new ideas and information, but no matter how many problems or ideas come out of this session, there will be new problems tomorrow. Because the superintendents know that, it is not enough to simply swap stories or help solve a specific problem. So again, the process (and those attending to it) pushes participants to extract generalizations from specific experience and to apply general theories to specific problems.

> For example, what do you do if real conflict develops? When, if ever, do you call in the police or the National Guard? How do you use your own staff and community leaders to cope with tension or violence?

In almost every networking session, at least one or two people will have confronted these issues and will have various strategies for dealing with them. That body of knowledge and experience is not applicable for every situation, but it does provide some way sof handling these specific problems. On the other hand, other group members will try to push the issue up to the level of generalization. How do you get constructive involvement from the community before violence occurs? How do you get acceptance for a new plan of action? When and how should you involve your teaching staff, your students, your community in some of the key problems and decisions facing the system?

It is important to point out that no one is spoon-fed solutions to school district problems. The conversations include specific alternatives that deal with various problem areas, but of more importance (at least it has proven so in previous sessions), the process encourages participants to develop both long- and short-range strategies that acknowledge the resources and constraints present in the community. Participants leave with a wider range of alternatives to choose from, having experienced a process of interchange which itself suggests some fairly constant processes and procedures for identifying key issues and mapping out courses of action.

Evaluating Networking

Evaluating a networking session is more intuitive than quantitative. "What did they teach me?" would be the wrong question to ask when the session ends. "What did I learn?" would be almost as bad. Both distort the learning process into some sort of awkward linear model of ingestion and regurgitation. To frame the right question, one ought to postpone questioning for a time, then look for different

interactions with the same systems (not just people) and for transactions with new systems. But where does one look, and who judges? A superintendent may not be an especially good judge of his own behavior, especially since the conditions of the superintendency allow little time for reflection, and it may be that those around him are too close to "judge."

What he went through did not resemble training. No one told him, "These are the problems facing urban schools, and here is what you should do." No one said, "Here are some training exercises that we would like your reaction to." And no one said, "Tell me your problems." Instead superintendents discussed their problems with other school superintendents (perhaps leading to some new ideas), did some problem-solving exercises, and identified behavior patterns of individuals and groups. One can hope that each superintendent understood more clearly that other furnaces heat the school, and that the superintendent is not the only one with access to the thermostat.

Someone from the management team might describe this process as "action research" and "action training," which are in the tradition of discovery learning, although learners are not expected to exclaim "Aha! we have just learned!" Training doesn't really produce learning, but interaction does. Action research involves people with power identifying and sharing problems, and action training means that those same people post possible solutions to the problems and then test them.

A short summary may be helpful. The chances are that before coming to this session every participant knew either through training, experience, or intuition that in order to get anywhere in any system or job, he must somehow define a direction, and, if it is a system involving others, they too must in some fashion be involved in the definition and movement. every participant probably already knew that it is essential to get feedback along the way, some response from his students, the staff, the community, and from his own observations as to whether the system and its components are moving in directions that will benefit the community and the students. Setting and re-examining goals, getting people involved, and getting feedback are familiar notions. So the networking session has confirmed in large measure what each participant knew, but also has given that knowledge shape in terms of specific alternatives for action.

The proof of the pudding may be whether a superintendent wants (and dares) to hold a networking session on his own home ground. *If* he wants to, *if* he can scratch together the necessary money, *if* he can persuade the key people to participate, and *if* he is willing to take some public risk, then the networking session was probably a success.

Planning A Networking Session

Four suppositions underlie a networking session: that the superintendent wants a local networking session, that he can raise the money, that the key people will participate, and that he is willing to risk adverse publicity. That is, he needs desire, dough, delegates, and daring, as our alliteration-prone letter writer might put it.

Let's talk first about money matters. A three-day workshop for 20 people might cost as much as $5,000. About $3,000 pays for the preparatory work, the materials, and managerial time; the rest is for travel, food, and lodging of the participants, and those costs increase with the distance participants must travel. But if they are from within the district and if a school building is used for sessions, the cost drops. On the other hand, an "exotic" site, rather than P.S.12, may help persuade people to attend.

The sponsoring superintendent must decide whom the networking session is for, and that choice will shape the method of engaging the participants in constructive activity. The session may be for district principals, administrative staff, superintendents from elsewhere in the state, or civic leaders. One lesson must be kept in mind: the more intimate the day-in, day-out working conditions of the participants, the more difficult it is to plan the session. It is harder to get those who work together closely to agree to participate, and it is harder to develop an appropriate agenda.

It takes some courage to hold a networking session. The Superintendents' Network is new, and that alone is enough to draw fire. Its intent is difficult to grasp, and every superintendent has at least one political opponent who will happily tar him with the brush of sensitivity training or encounter therapy. Others may see the networking session as a power play to get the superintendent in the mayor's cabinet or to enhance his reputation as an innovative leader. And still others may object to the expenditure.

Not all these problems will necessarily arise in every district, but it is well to be prepared. Some criticism is better ignored, but a thorough explanation of the session, while still in the proposal stage, should help with some potential critics. The press can help too, if a reporter is interested enough to run a feature story in advance of the meeting. There will be little or no objection to spending the money if federal funds can legally be used, and this is possible if, for example, the workshop concerns desegregation and is for a district that is receiving funds under the Emergency School Assistance Act (ESAA). If the city council or some other municipal agency helps foot the bill, that will even up the load and, not incidentally, divide up the responsibility.

Some of the networking activities are packaged. They have been used with success and are easy to use again. Other activities depend upon the participants and their interests. The preliminary data on participants will indicate what subjects should be on the agenda, and what subjects ought to be avoided. If the planning or management team discovers a highly explosive or polarized issue, it will, from its own past experience, urge that this issue not be confronted at the first opportunity. Participants in a polarized session don't engage each other; they shout, and nobody listens. Here again, the rule of intimacy: the closer the day-to-day relationships, the more careful the planning has to be.

If a networking session involving those who work closely has such potential for disaster, why would anyone hold one? The reason is that greater risks and harder work may also pay bigger dividends. A successful experience for district principals or civic leaders, for example, will probably mean that they will work together better thereafter. At the very least they will participate in another, more ambitious networking session. They will have improved facilities for processing information and have improved techniques for (and attitudes toward) searching for information. And because the roles and the institutions they represent affect each other, that improved interaction is beneficial. It is not just that the superintendent now knows the city councilmen; they all know something about each other's concerns, responsibilities, and choices.

To Intervene or Not To Intervene

Some superintendents have been in the role of manager in their own training sessions; others have worked with professional managers in the development of a session. As one becomes more involved in the process as a conference leader, manager, or trainer, the problem of intervention becomes more acute. There is a universal problem in all areas of education, training, and development which quickly rises to the surface, and that is the temptation on the part of the "teacher," manager, or leader to tell people how to behave. When you tell someone, child or adult, what to do, there are several possible outcomes:

1. He may follow the suggestion and it may turn out well, so that everybody feels fine.
2. He may follow the suggestion, and it may not work, partly because your solution did not fit his personality

or situation; or because he misunderstood what you were telling him, and, therefore, did not do it properly; or because underneath it all he wanted it to fail anyway. Or because you were wrong.

3. He may resent your presumption, even if he asked for the advice himself.

4. He may follow your advice and become dependent upon you or on other outside forces, so that he never really has to take responsibility for his own actions or risk making independent decisions.

These outcomes are further complicated in a Superintendents' Network training session, where the group is comprised of 15 to 25 experienced school superintendents, many with extensive education and practical experience. Additionally, each is from a different environment, has a different staff and is part of a different community, in a different system.

The simplest guideline regarding intervention[2] is simply to say that in the substantive areas and in a short-range relationship, *it generally doesn't work*. First of all, suggesting to a group of superintendents when they should call in the police, or how they should get their staff to be more open or more responsive, or what they ought to do if the school board is bearing down on them, is naive and presumptuous. The intervener usually does not know enough about the system to make an intelligent analysis of the problem. A solution is rarely what is needed. There is, almost always, a need for process and an on-going sequence of events and engagements. There is often a need for data collection and analysis, which no quick recommendation can deal with. Most importantly, the superintendent probably knows most of what the intervener may tell him anyway. So the question is, how does the superintendent work with other members of the group to clarify his own feelings and to uncover the range of alternatives available to him? Ultimately, of course, the decision is his. And that is why intervention by the manager can actually stall the engagement process. If the leader is charismatic and persuasive, people may wait for him to provide a solution. If he is heavy-handed or unimaginative, they may be bored or irritated by his observations or feedback. The best rule to follow is for those running the session to shy away from giving solutions.

A second area for intervention is a little more difficult to cope with. Often small groups may see the conference manager or leader as someone who is there to ease, to facilitate, or somehow to move them

into a better set of relationships or into a more effective problem-solving mode. As a matter of fact, many training endeavors have established this as a norm of expectation. There is even language in the field which supports the idea, so managers of training meetings are often called facilitators or trainers or conference leaders. The assumption is that, because of their special skills in group interaction or group process, they can help the group work together more effectively, by asking such questions as:

> "Have you considered other alternatives?"
>
> "Do you feel that others in the group are listening carefully to each other?"
>
> "What do you feel you need to do to establish a climate in which you could work together more effectively?"

These and other sophisticated, penetrating interventions are typical of "process training." The PROJECT OPEN strategy does not deny the utility of trainer-oriented training, but prefers to define the Superintendents' Network as of a different nature and order.

First, in dealing with anything as immense as the public school system, the idea of providing facilitators for thousands of groups is simply not feasible, and probably not desirable. PROJECT OPEN funds and resources are severely limited. If one is bringing together a group of 30 school superintendents or 80 school board members, council members, community leaders, it is hardly feasible to divide them into groups of eight and provide trained facilitators for each group.

Who Asks For Help?

The dynamics of any kind of intervention are complex. When a member of a small group asks for guidance from a professional leader, he is asking for one of several reasons:

1. He may feel that the group is hung up and that some clarification of what is happening may help the group work through its own problem.
2. He may simply be looking for an ally to support the position or the process he favors.

A typical request for intervention in a group of superintendents might be something like this: "Don't you think that we should have a

chairman or secretary for this meeting?" The question usually arises because one member feels rather strongly (and he may have quite a few allies) that the problem with the group is that it does not have a chairman. Others may feel that they operate better in a loose and unstructured way. Thus, the request for intervention is really a request for the "outside expert to take a side, which may win him some friends on one hand and create alienation on another. It also begins to put him in the role of arbitrator of intragroup tensions. Therefore, almost all trainers would agree to leave the problems in the hands of the group to work out in its own way.

3. Another reason for calling on someone else to intervene is so that the group itself can avoid engaging its own members, who are bored, distracted, or uncommitted. It is looking for excitement, energy, or direction from outside itself, or it is looking for excitement, energy, or direction from outside itself, or it is looking for a scapegoat for its own unwillingness to bring to the surface the critical issues at hand.

4. If tasks and expectations are well-defined, either by the staff or the group at the outset, then an intervention request is usually the result of some on-going problem within the group itself for which the group must take responsibility.

The long and short of it is simply: Avoid intervention.

By its nature, the Superintendents' Network exists for superintendents and school administrators and is run by them and with their peers and associates. This means that a school superintendent ought to be able to conduct programs and problem-solving activities with his own staff or within his own community. This requires a process that can be duplicated, is low in cost, and is "owned" by the participants, rather than by some outside agency or outside consultant. The network manager's role is to set up the structure, observe and guide the process, and intervene under certain extreme conditions.

Perhaps the managers' function is the same as the thermostat's function in the cybernetic system, sensing and regulating the "temperature" of the workshop. But that metaphor does not encompass the early role the managers play in setting up the structure. Actually, what the professionals do is enable the networking session to occur.

FOOTNOTES

[1] According to an Office of Education paper on PROJECT OPEN, networking

. . . is commonly preceded by surveys and interviews to lay out key attitudes, facts, and fancies in non-threatening ways.

. . . facilitates risk-taking by building into the participants (systems) the strength to venture.

. . . builds from relatively safe, non-threatening homogeneous networks based on common roles (e.g., big city superintendents interfaced with each other) toward more risky and potentially more productive heterogeneous networks based on issues.

. . . is not given over to confrontation but to understanding the issues in each other's terms.

. . . does not prescribe either problems or solutions, but nonetheless not all is left to chance; individuals well versed in PROJECT OPEN theory and strategies are always on hand to facilitate risk-taking, to help avoid impasses.

. . . uses "action training" (learning-by-doing) instead of the usual speeches, reports, panels, and work papers.

. . . does not seek to bring about reform or change in dramatic, large-scale — and often disruptive — ways. Rather it tries to produce a continuous adjustment of all of the parties (systems) to each other: a yielding here, the softening of a hard stance there. Not "We won, by God!" but "We made some progress," or "They finally understood what we are sore about," or "We'll meet you half way."

[2] Malcolm Shaw has provided a "short history of intervention," which we print below:

The initial idea of interventions in group life can probably best be credited to the National Training Laboratory. At its outset this was composed of social psychologists and other practitioners primarily from educational settings. (i.e., higher education, sociologists, et al.) Gradually, it began to include industrial practitioners, psychiatrists, social workers, and finally, line people from industry and government. Again, I think a quick historical reference here would say that NTL in its early stages was interested in watching groups work and trying to understand their dynamics. In this process, they began to make observations about what was going on in the group itself, and then determined that this actually had an effect on group behavior. So the idea of process observation, of intervening into a group and feeding back to it observations of its own behavior, drawn both from the perceptions of group members and from the body of knowledge and theory which was contemporarily available (i.e., social psychology and group dynamics), emerged from NTL. Credit for some new modes of intervention can probably go to Jack Gibb, who was associated with Western Behavioral Science Lab and an old time NTL associate. Herb Shepard, associated with NTL and with various universities and Bob Blake, best known recently for his work on the Managerial Grid, but historically NTL and the University of Texas. Their names should be mentioned as having begun to experiment with interventions other than personal. That is, in various ways, they contributed to the development of the idea of "The Instrumented Laboratory." Much of what you say about the weakness of personal intervention really came from their experiences, and we at ESD built on these experiences and developed some original modes of our own.

CHAPTER EIGHT: IMAGINING THE FUTURE

It's an old joke that writings about education conclude with recommendations for "further study and evaluation." We would like to break that pattern and suggest instead some changes in training for public school administrators, chart a course for the Superintendents' Network, and describe the kind of superintending required to manage a major urban public school system, New York City, for example. We are picking New York because it is still the big apple and the toughest nut to crack, to scramble the images a bit.

The Future of Training

Training is also a bit of tough nut. Past and present approaches are seriously deficient, but we do not believe there is a single approach that will work for everyone everywhere. It follows, we believe, that the monopoly now held by graduate schools of education must be broken. We simply do not think much of the argument that it is not a monopoly but an oligopoly; arsenic, cyanide, and strychnine are different in some ways too, but they are alike in the one way that matters. Poisons have their legitimate uses (arsenic can be prescribed in the treatment of syphilis and encephalitis) but in small doses and special cases.

Where might school administrators be "trained," in addition to the graduate schools of education? Just about anywhere: universities, large school districts, state or federal agencies, health or social service organizations, or private business. Why shouldn't a competent, resourceful, and thoughtful hospital administrator, business executive, or government official be capable of running a school district? We know of no obvious reasons why school administrators should be former teachers and principals who have trained at graduate schools of education. Certification is a hurdle, but not an insurmountable one. When one major school district in New York State went shopping for a new superintendent last year it made discreet inquiries about the possibility of hiring a person from outside professional education. That district subsequently opted for someone with an Ed.D. and the proper blood lines, but other districts will follow the early lead, and some day one will not turn back.

To prepare for that day, training for administrators needs to break out from its narrow bondage. Teacher training is already a few steps ahead. Some school districts — Montgomery County, Maryland, for example — offer in-service courses for teachers with credits which count toward advancement within the system (but these credits are not transferable, a major problem). The American Federation of Teachers

wants to train teachers, and the large foundation that received the AFT proposal calls it "interesting."

Training for administrators already shows some signs of life. Several large school districts are interested in establishing training programs jointly with an institution of higher education, that is, with a university or a school of education. Dallas, Texas, is involved in a Master's Program in Administration for principals, which works this way: about 40 promising teachers from Dallas are selected each year, they are rotated through the system for the school year, given a four and one-half month classroom program in management techniques, and tested at intervals for specific skills and language usage. Their attitudes, perceptions, and prejudices are measured on a "dogma scale." If they make it through the program (many are weeded out), they serve as principals of a summer school, then as "intern principals" for two years in two different schools in the district. During the internship they take classes at the university, and after completion (again, some are dropped) the graduates receive a Master's degree and go into the pool from which Dallas selects its principals. The size of the pool and the rate at which Dallas principals are recruited away by other districts all but guarantee each graduate a principalship within a year.

Dallas is proud of that program but recognizes that there is room for improvement. Right now all the candidates come from Dallas; an improved program would fish for candidates in a pool which included non-school, non-Dallas people. The program is apparently rigorous enough to weed out those without the qualities and abilities that make a good principal, and broadened recruitment would test the old school adage about the importance of working up through the ranks. Perhaps the butcher, baker, or candlestick-maker would make capable principals, given on-the-job training. Right now, final judgments about graduation and certification — the official imprimatur — are in the hands of the university and the certifying agency. An improved program would give the school district an official voice. The interns spend most of their time in the public schools, and the district's unofficial veto power ought to become official.

The Dallas program is a good beginning. However, it is a program for middle management, not for superintendents. Even so, it is easy to imagine that same structure writ large, with the modifications suggested above. Not surprisingly, we think school districts could do a good job of training superintendents.

Recruitment must search beyond the ranks of school people. What schoolmen call "chalk on your sleeves" is helpful but not necessary. What is needed is integrity, the capacity for leadership, and an inclination toward a life of the mind. By life of the mind, we mean

humane learning and the habits of reflection and introspection. Some superintendents might argue that job conditions do not allow time for reflection, but that response only demonstrates the linear mind-set that we need to move away from. Reflection and introspection cannot be scheduled for 30 minutes a day or 30 minutes a week; they are habitual, as the life of the mind is pervasive. Harold Howe II wrote some years ago:

> I have long believed that a man with the ability of Adlai Stevenson might be a successful educational administrator in a large city, and one who would lend the profession dignity; but I imagine he's a little short of semester hours.[1]

A joint university-school district training program would require students to spend roughly half their time in university coursework, half in the administrative machinery of the district. The doctorate ought to be awarded jointly by the university and the district. The prospect of a degree from a school district raises eyebrows, but that reaction is to a peripheral issue. The central point is that the school district should share the responsibility for and control of administrative training and credentialing.

We want to be clear about our proposal. When we say university, we mean just that. We do not recommend that the departments of educational administration share the training responsibility with the school district. We are recommending that the universities share the responsibility. Asking the departments of educational administration to carry the whole load is akin to asking the polluters upstream to clean up the river.

There are other polluters and pollutants, of course. It is not the sole fault of departments of educational administration that so many principals and superintendents are concerned with minutiae. To a great extent, school boards and the citizenry reward that behavior, and the training is geared to elicit that response. We said in the opening chapter that the public schools are laden with contradictions, and the public's lack of appreciation for conflict and controversy in the schools is well documented.

We are not arguing that departments of educational administration should go out of business. Over 1,000 of the nearly 30,000 graduate degrees in education in 1972 were in educational administration, and that proportion may well increase, as more specialized administrative jobs are created. We just want to see some competition.

Continuing Education

"Continuing Education" is not really competing with the graduate schools, because most of it occurs there. There are varieties of continuing education available, and more to come in the years ahead. After all, there are about 15,000 superintendents, plus all the associate and assistant superintendents — and thousands more waiting (certified) backstage. Even as the number of superintendencies shrinks, specialized administrative posts are being created, and the normal pattern of succession is unlikely to be disrupted by our or anyone else's complaints and suggestions. Thus we have compiled, with the help of UCEA Executive Director Jack Culbertson, a list of "strategies" of continuing education, which we present in no particular order. This is how people are climbing the ladder:

1) Through the professional organizations: the three-day workshops run by the National Academy for School Administrators are the major example.

2) Through foundation-sponsored individualized learning: The Kettering Foundation provides small grants and resources to individuals who have outlined in fairly specific terms what it is they want to learn.

3) Through the school system: A "Director of Continuing Education" is appointed. His job (rarely full time) is to coordinate and facilitate the in-service education of personnel (usually teachers but including administrators) in the school system.

4) Through on-the-job diagnosis: Properly designed instruments might be able to indentify the strengths and weaknesses of administrators. The UCEA and the Atlanta public schools have recently completed a series of instruments to diagnose the performance of principals in different behavioral domains (such as "reaction to change") in order to prescribe necessary learning.

5) Through on-campus summer workshops: those involving external lecturers are less popular, while those involving more active learning through such methods as simulation are becoming more popular, according to the UCEA.

6) Through technology: audio cassettes, for example, seem suitable for individualized learning in free time.

The UCEA and some private sector firms offer series on administration.

7) Through individual efforts, such as night school, the sabbatical, and travel: It is impossible to gauge the level of these activities.

8) Through "organization development" in a school system over a period of time: system-wide (or state-wide) efforts usually employ outside consultants, who analyze the system and prescribe remedies to problems thus identified. The re-education of participating personnel is often by a prescribed remedy, and, at the same time, a by-product of the whole process. That is, the administrators of the system are re-educated to some degree by virtue of their involvement in the analysis.

The offerings in continuing education for administrators at graduate schools of education tend to be frequent, short, and crowded. Seventy-five per cent of the institutions had programs during 1970-71, but almost 40 per cent of these were one-day sessions, and almost half of the workshops involved 50 or more participants. Only 17 per cent could conceivably be called small (fewer than 25 participants); only 15 per cent lasted more than three days. Short sessions with 50 or more participants are to be suffered through, but not generally learned from, in our experience.

That is the way things are, however, and it is also the way they are likely to remain for some time. Radical change in public education or in the training of its administrators is not very probable. Most change is of the "bolt-on" variety, like much of the gadgetry designed to reduce automobile engine emissions. Human beings tend to think in patterns and to assume that things can only be as they are. We tinker with what we have, and even many of the truly drastic changes end up looking a lot like what they were invented to replace. The old joke that "the automobile engine is in the front because that's where the horse was" provides an insight into the process of change. As long as people believe that some sort of extra training is necessary, changes in the present training process will be of the "bolt-on" variety.

The Superintendent of the Future

Imagining the urban superintendent of the future is easier than hurdling the obstacles to his appearance. New York City is our

metaphor for any unmanageable urban school district, and the terms "superintendent" and "manage" require some explanation, too.

First of all, no single superintendent can do the job, and present administrative teams are invariably accidental, instead of the deliberate creations they ought to be. Most assistant and associate superintendents get there by dint of talent, hard work, time, tenacity, and the happy accident of being in the right place at the right time. The superintendent may have gotten to the top in the same way, or he may be an outsider. If he came from outside the district, he probably brought one or two, rarely more, key assistants with him. The rest are inherited, and the resulting combination may or may not be an effective managerial team. We do not think New York City or any other urban district can be managed by that kind of team, especially in these days of active, politically aware school boards.

And although it defies training, social custom, and some present rules and regulations, we think the notion of the superintendent as a single person should and will disappear. Someday in the future, New York City, or Pittsburgh, or San Francisco will hire a superintending team of six or ten or so.[2] That team will have trained together and will be mutually supportive. Administrative teams will come and go as one, and their contracts will stipulate that no one on the team may be hired to replace the person at the top of the pyramid (No more backstabbing, O Brave New World!). Such a team will be complementary, though not conflict-free. Today's administrative teams sometimes match weaknesses, or are weakened by the choice of a superintendent who is fearful of competition and thus selects lesser people. That is the first part of our answer: a superintending team, and not a single superintendent.

"Manage" requires redefinition if urban schools are to be manageable. Many educators actually mean suppression when they speak of conflict management, and they do so because that is apparently what the public wants. Unless society's tolerance for conflict[3] increases, urban schools will not be manageable in our times.

Out of genuine concern for impressionable children, social prohibitions have evolved to prevent the teaching of extreme political views, and school personnel are expected to be apolitical and heterosexual in and out of school. Children are encouraged to prepare for life in a democracy, but schools seemingly do not believe that the provisions of the Bill of Rights apply to children. Conflict must be suppressed,[4] and superintendents are hired and fired for their ability to do same.

As long as this is so, no urban school system will be amenable to "management." How the citizenry can be educated to tolerate conflict

in the schools is another, more difficult question. We can be against violence, but we ought to be able to accept healthy shouting and shoving, and no one should shrink from sensible attempts to understand the tension and confusion that exist in society and are mirrored in adolescent minds. Some will say that is courting tragedy, considering the easy availability of weapons and our society's preoccupation with gratuituous violence. We appreciate the point, because it demonstrates the school's relationship to the world outside. Schools are reactive institutions, no better or worse than the community and other interconnected institutions want and allow them to be. A team of superintendents — if it is willing to take the risks — might be able to lead the public out of the wilderness, but it will not be able to manage the public schools until the public understands that conflict is often healthful and necessary, and that suppression of conflict can be a threat to social and individual stability.

Getting back to that tough nut, New York City, a superintending team there will have to be a political force, willing to take risks, because as long as guns and drugs are available on city street corners, they will turn up in the schools. As long as significant elements of the society are obsessed with violence yet intolerant of conflict, the schools — in New York City and elsewhere — will be unmanageable in any real sense. That is the second part of our answer.

The Obstacle of Retirement Plans

Redefining "management" is only one of the obstacles to the appearance of a superintending team. A superintending team may be impossible today, because of the severe dislocation of existing personnel. One part of the problem is traditional: the superintendent (or assistant superintendent) cannot become a principal again without an unacceptable loss of personal and professional prestige. This is not the case with college deans and professors; in their cases, mobility is lateral, and a dean can become a professor again without actual or apparent demotion because the two positions are equally respected. But movement from the central administration to principal is seen as a demotion (although some superintendents will say privately that high school principals have a tougher job). If the movement were seen as lateral (as in the college or university), then bringing in a superintending team would cause much less dislocation, and former assistant and associate superintendents would be eligible for principalships in the district.

That sort of redefinition of the hierarchy may be necessary, because, although movement intrastate from one system to another is

not particularly complicated, movement to another state is nearly impossible. The retirement systems are the problem, ironically. Originally set up to protect, they now are genuine barriers to change because they stifle mobility and reward stasis.

There really is no "typical" retirement system. Some plans include all state employees, some include all public education employees, and some are limited to professional educators working for the state. Benefits differ with the eligibility rules; some plans pay social security, and others don't. Some match contributions, while others put in a fixed amount. Benefits may begin at age 60, 62, 65, or whenever the retiree chooses. But the rub is "portability," which means the transferability of benefits from one state to another. Because a state system honors credits built up anywhere in the state, an intrastate transfer means only a battle with red tape. Transferring to another state without losing retirement benefits is often impossible and always difficult. Nineteen states have portability provisions, all of which differ. The other 31 states simply do not provide for transferring benefits in and out. There is no national retirement system for superintendents,[5] or other public education employees, nor is there likely to be one. Education is a state responsibility, and the care of retired public educators has naturally fallen to the states.

Consider the implications: the superintendent or any other public school employee who has put 15 or 20 years into a school system simply cannot move to a different state without jeopardizing his or her retirement benefits. The AASA survey indicated that only eight per cent of all superintendents had switched states, and that most moves had been to another superintendency within the same state. Because the pattern is for movement within the state to a district of the same size, it is easier to move in California or Texas or New York, where there are a number of districts of comparable size. In Nevada or West Virginia there aren't many districts with 25,000 pupils, or with 10,000 pupils.

Often an urban school district (few states have more than two) makes the interstate move possible for the incoming superintendent by buying credits in the retirement system. Portability is less of a problem when the district pays for five years of retirement credits, enabling a superintendent in his first year to pay for his sixth year of membership in the new system. But buying retirement credits for a team of superintendents is not realistic. It would cost the district too much. It is unlikely that those displaced by the new team would be able to move out-of-state without losing benefits, and the availability of comparable positions within the state is a matter of chance. It amounts to a "no-win" game.

The new superintendent brings one or two key assistants at the most. He inherits as many as 20 assistant, associate, and regional superintendents, from whose perspective the new superintendent is an unknown quantity. Everyone spends a good deal of energy protecting his own stake.

School boards can be moved by economy, emotion, and sentiment to retain the assistant and associate superintendents, who probably are over 45 years old, have given their lives to the district, and have no place to go. Equally powerful but quite different emotions figure in the board's decision to remove the superintendent. Neither the retention of the assistants nor the removal of the superintendent comes to the heart of the matter. Both decisions focus too much attention on *one* person, the superintendent.

We would like to suggest some gradual steps toward the superintending team. One would be the adoption of the policy of mass resignations; it might be a good idea if all assistant and associate superintendents were to offer their resignations upon the appointment of a new superintendent, much as cabinet officers resign when a new President of the United States takes office. The new superintendent and the board could accept the resignations or not, at their discretion. If they choose not to accept some resignations, then those assistants stay on, members of the team in a genuine political and psychological sense. If the resignations are accepted, the immediate burden falls on the district (that is, on the board) to see that those no longer on the administrative team are appropriately employed.

The heavier burden falls on the profession itself, for it must develop strategies and techniques for transferring credentials and equity. Such a step sounds radical only because the isolation of training and certification have led to a lack of public awareness of the complexities of school administration and to inbreeding on the part of the profession. A tradition of mass resignation would give superintendents a healthy jolt.

The new superintendent also ought to be able to select perhaps 20 per cent of his administrative team from outside the certified world, that is, from among laymen, lawyers, engineers, social workers, and others. This new penetration into the administrative tangle could reinvigorate the superintendency, educate the public, and build political support for the superintendent. These are steps along the way to a team approach.

The Future of the Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN

We do not expect those now governing administrative training to go along with our suggestions without a struggle. We think "trust busting" is in order. We think that the "continuing education" now available for school administrators is woefully inadequate. We think the pre-service training of administrators would benefit from competition, and we think that arranging for school districts and universities to put their hands on the controls would end some of the stagnation. We want more drastic changes in the relatively new field of continuing education.

First of all, continuing education is a misnomer. We will call it re-education, because that is what is necessary if public school administrators are going to survive and grow personally and professionally. Re-education is the aim behind the Superintendents' Network, because there is no point in continuing anything that is part of the problem.

The premise of the Superintendents' Network, and its reason for being, is that superintendents are in trouble, and their training and the available continuing education are not much help. Designed as support systems, these training and continuing education programs are in fact millstones. A support system for high-level public school administrators must be relevant to their needs. It must provide a means for them to recognize and deal with their environment, the central fact of which is the interrelatedness of the school system and its surrounding social systems and sub-systems. Re-education of this kind abolishes false distinctions between trainer and trainee by requiring that everyone work at defining problems and designing solutions. Re-education for school superintendents recognizes that locating the setting for change in the superintendents themselves is one step toward change in the public schools. The process of individual, institutional, and social change is contradicted by the notion of a "changer" and a "changee," since everyone is susceptible to change. The structure of the Superintendents' Network is built on that premise. One-day workshops for 50 superintendents are not.

The Question of Evaluation

Innovation and change are complex and diverse, like public education itself, and cannot, with our present knowledge of the process, be controlled in a way that would satisfy the evaluators we have known. David Cohen says:

> . . .the process of planning, development, and testing social innovation cannot be understood simply as a series of interactions in which theory is translated into practice. It is in addition a process of exploring what the idea was in the first place, and finding out what it might become. Discovery is as appropriate a metaphor as development.[6]

We can cite the steady spread of PROJECT OPEN-type networking across the country, but most of the data would not be of much use in warding off bright-eyed evaluators eager for instant results. In the end, we come back to our original premise: since school superintendents have to answer for the state of the schools, they ought to be equipped with at least some of the tools for controlling their operating conditions.

Actually, the evaluators ask the wrong questions, as almost everyone privately admits. The "state of the art" in educational evaluation is miserable. The information comes in too late to influence decisions, but the pressure for data often forces programs into a "quantitative" mold in which the unmeasurable must become measurable or be ruled illegitimate.

Of course, the Superintendents' Network (like every project that spends public funds) must be held accountable for its behavior, but accountability does not necessarily have to be data-processed. The public, the school board, and the federal government have a right to know the conditions under which the money is spent, and to what ends. If they saw fit to approve the project in the first place, then they have an obligation not to strangle it in its infancy by immediately demanding hard data.

How should the Superintendents' Network be evaluated? There are at the present time insurmountable obstacles to objectivity, and this ought to be recognized. The Superintendents' Network is new, often inarticulate and unclear about its goals and methods (which are changing), and often unsure about what standards it ought to apply to itself. Part of trying out an innovation is also trying to decide how to evaluate it.

As the Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN grow, it is logical to expect the tensions of the local-federal relationship to increase. Tension rises with the stakes. Right now PROJECT OPEN is asking questions about what went wrong with educational reform and is trying to enlarge the arena, so that all the social systems and sub-systems involved in public education are part of the re-education and readjustment process. PROJECT OPEN and the Superintendents' Network are not experiments in a scientific sense. They are a

groping effort to go beyond the limits of research, development, lectures, and computer retrieval systems as a means of improving schools and school people. They are also a new kind of federal-local relationship. Essentially, the federal role is to encourage diversity, not to lead the way. The Office of Education, in our view, should not be neutral, which implies passivity, but should push for growth in new directions, leaving the choice of direction up to the locals. Donald Schon has written:

> Government cannot play the role of "experimenter for the nation," seeking first to identify the correct solution, then to train society at large in its adaptation. The opportunity for learning is primarily in discovered systems at the periphery, not in the nexus of official policies at the center. Central's role is to detect significant shifts at the periphery, to pay explicit attention to the emergence of ideas in good currency, and to derive themes of policy by induction.[7]

This means that the Office of Education must live with the tension created by leaving the Superintendents' Network on its own. The Office has an enabling function, and it has to resist the pressure to take the local machinery apart to discover why it ticks.

We cannot know if the Superintendents' Network will become "respectable" or who will make it so. Perhaps the AASA, the Chief State School Officers, or the Council of Great City Schools will embrace its philosophy. That sort of respectability would be a virtue, considering the bewildering pressures on school superintendents, but we do not want the united front of respectability to become an excuse for inaction.

The Superintendents' Network could create the climate for risk-taking, so that all districts in a state could adopt, for instance, a single position on compliance with court orders. School superintendents could never urge their boards to "get out in front" on desegregation, for example, but they could urge boards to pressure the state education agency to adopt a consistent attitude toward enforcement.[8] The Superintendents' Network might be the vehicle for weighing the advantages of such a declaration of unity. At present, no such vehicle exists, and no unity either, because districts by their very structure and charter act independently, and resist independently. Through the Superintendents' Network school superintendents and others could begin to understand the effects of non-compliance and resistance on school and community.

Until a team of superintendents is possible, and until something like the Superintendents' Network re-educates its way through the urban public school systems of the country, the struggle for high quality in the public schools will be a losing one. The issue is not just the survival of school superintendents — even though the social learning we urge includes the lesson that superintendents are currently being held responsible for events they do not control.

At stake is the survival of public education itself, because we cannot continue to heap demands—often contradictory ones—upon public schools without tearing them apart, and we cannot continue to insist that the schools do what we as a people are apparently unwilling to do. The Superintendents' Network and PROJECT OPEN are small, tentative steps toward the healthy readjustment of the entire society.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Harold Howe II, "The Care and Feeding of Superintendents," *Saturday Review* (February 17, 1962), p. 84

[2] The District of Columbia recently hired a superintending team of two, Barbara Sizemore and Kenneth Haskins. Sizemore is the Superintendent and Haskins the Vice-Superintendent only because, as she explained it, "The Board had to know who was finally responsible and who would get the bigger paycheck." Sizemore and Haskins are operating as a team, and one of their first tasks is, in Haskins' words, "to flatten out the hierarchy."

[3] The Oakland Athletics baseball team, owner Charley Finley, and ex-manager Dick Williams are good (if time-bound) examples of the public's and the media's low tolerance for conflict. Williams managed two different teams to three championships between 1967-73, including consecutive world championships in 1972 and 1973. The A's in particular have been embroiled in conflict: player-player, manager-player, and owner-player. Conflict between the manager and the owner became public when Williams resigned abruptly after the 1973 World Series. The reaction to these conflicts has been interesting. The A's have said in effect, "Why does it matter how we get along off the field? On the field we're professionals, and we're winning." The public and the media do not seem able to accept this. A great deal has been written about the Oakland team's behavior, almost all of it critical. The implicit, and often explicit, criticism is that a "real" team should not and would not squabble, criticize, and fight in such a manner. The mildest criticism comes out something like, "Well, I suppose it's all right for them, but I sure wouldn't want my daughter to marry one." Apparently the Oakland fans agree; they stay away from the ball park in droves. Although the A's win on the field, which is the goal in professional baseball, the public, led by the sportswriters, cannot accept the idea that conflicts are inevitable and healthy, especially among a stable of highly competitive, high-strung, well-paid athletic machines whose professional life span is short.

[4] A report on violence in the California public schools bears out our observation. Minimizing or preventing conflict is the aim of the report's recommendations, as this summary from *Education USA* (December 10, 1973) makes clear:

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FOOTNOTES (Cont.)

A new report on violence in California public schools suggests that students, parents, and teachers all disagree on the causes of school conflict and violence. In its year-long study, "A Report on Conflict and Violence in California's High Schools," the state education department found that students believe conflict is caused by: uneven application of discipline by the school staff and favoritism toward "student government cliques," smoking regulations, unfair and authoritarian administration practices, poor counseling services, lack of a student role in the decision-making process, tracking, oppressive school policies (suspension, clothing codes, etc.,), and discrimination agains/ low-income students by assessing fees for participation in school activities. On the other hand, administrators, counselors and teachers suggested entirely different causes for conflict, including excessive administrative paperwork, poor facilities, teacher disinterest, drug use, and home values. Parents, however, offered still a third set of reasons for confrontations, including crowded schools, lax school discipline, irrelevant curricula, outside agitators, and poor communication between schools and police.

The task force presented several recommendations for dealing with and minimizing school violence and conflict. Active involvement by all participaats, in the school—administrators, counselors, teachers, students, parents and community leaders—is a significant preventive measure for conflict, the report says. Parent advisory councils have been formed in many communities as effective vehicles of participation, giving assistance and support to prevent conflict before it erupts. One of the most promising practices is the growing use of group counseling to "cool" troubled campuses, it says. And it offers several ideas for reducing vandalism: student lounges and "rap rooms," the planting of green areas and construction of outdoor patios and other gathering areas, student-designed murals for hallways, and redecoration of rest rooms under student supervision. The study found that intergroup conflict can be minimized through more communication among students of different ethnic origins, inservice teachers training to develop sensitivity to ethnic differences and minority problems, and adoption of a multicultural curriculum to include balanced presentations of the history and cultures of minorities.

California school chief Wilson Riles plans to establish a "Conflict Prevention Resource Index," a clearinghouse for matching districts with developing or potential problems with communities which have experienced similar difficulties and have found ways to prevent a recurrence. "Conflict in the schools is a reflection of the conflicts in society, but that does not excuse the schools from their responsibilities," Riles says. "Schools must not function in ways which contribute to conflicts in the country."

[5] The closest thing to a national plan is the AASA's Retirement Plan, established eight years ago. It is intended to supplement social security and other retirement plans. Under the plan, employers contribute by reducing actual employee salary or by diverting a salary increase into the retirement fund. Retirement is usually at 65, although benefits can begin at 55. The plan provides for portability. "Participating members who transfer from one employer to another will take the total value of their annuity with them regardless of how long they have been employed. It is hoped that the new employer will continue to make the contribution on your behalf, thus permitting your retirement plan to remain intact."

FOOTNOTES (Cont.)

[6] David K. Cohen, "Social Experiments with Schools: What has Been Learned?" Center for Educational Policy Research—the Brookings Institution (July, 1973), p. 24.

[7] Donald A. Schon, *Beyond the Stable State* (New York: Norton, New York, 1971), p. 177.

[8] The Superintendents' Network is concerned with desegregation to the extent that it is a major issue in public education. Public schools have been told to do what the larger society seems unwilling to undertake, and public education is being scrutinized as never before. Superintendents feel the heat, and that is often reflected in networking sessions. Superintendents at a networking session generally begin by talking about their own survival. Gradually they discover then that not even hanging together prevents them from hanging separately. New and better interaction with the rest of the world sounds like a simplistic prescription for survival and positive change, but it works. The Superintendents' Network is committed to that prescription.

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APPENDIX A: SOME REFORM ATTEMPTS

The current interest in the training of educational administrators dates back to the late 1940's and early 1950's, when the Kellogg Foundation underwrote exploratory studies and a large-scale improvement program. This appendix discusses a number of the larger or more recent efforts. The list is not inclusive.

1. The Seven University Consortium Project

The best known of the reforms in training educational administrators is the Seven University Project, now the Seven University Consortium Project. The program was set up by the Ford Foundation in 1968 to help prepare superintendents to cope with the emerging problems of urban school administration. Enough universities were interested in reforming their own training programs with Foundation money, and Ford ultimately funded programs in seven major universities, both public and private.

This is how the Consortium describes itself:

> The Consortium for Educational Leadership was incorporated as a not-for-profit Corporation in the State of Illinois on May 24, 1973. Its membership includes seven major institutions of higher education in the United States: Atlanta University, the University of Chicago, Claremont Graduate School, Columbia University (Teachers College), the University of Massachusetts, the Ohio State University, and the University of Pennsylvania.
>
> Financial support for the initial work of the Consortium has been provided by a grant from the Ford Foundation, with the University of Chicago acting as fiscal agent.
>
> The purposes of the Consortium are: to train educational leaders; to promote cooperation among the seven institutions which train educational leaders; to assist institutions which seek the services of qualified persons; and to conduct research related to leadership training and practice.

Within the context of these purposes, five priority areas have been identified by the Board of Directors:

> (1) *Placement:* Effective placement of students in internships (when desired) and jobs from which leverage for creative change can occur.

(2) *Cadre-building:* Growth of collegial relationships among students on the various campuses, as well as with alumni now working in the field, to provide support for leaders who are bringing about change and who need assistance.

(3) *Sharing Intellectual Resources* and

(4) *Diminishing Faculty Parochialism:* Opening up the human and material resources of each campus to students and faculty on the other campuses, in such ways that individual needs are satisfied and interaction enhanced.

(5) *Problem-oriented Research:* Focusing of research efforts on the political and training issues of the Consortium and upon the particular problems of leaders who are interested in the reform of public school systems.

Each of the Consortium members actively recruits educators who are sensitive to the needs of the alienated, both metropolitan and rural, and gives them the skill and competencies to serve those groups.

The office of the Consortium is located at 5801 South Kenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637 (312-667-8585-6). Dr. R. Bruce McPherson is Executive Secretary and Mr. Columbus Salley is Deputy Executive Secretary of the Consortium.

2. The National Ed.D. Program for Educational Leaders

The Ford Foundation has been indirectly involved with a controversial "external doctorate" program at Florida's Nova University. The Foundation made a planning grant to enable this program to draw up a curriculum outline and a process evaluation of its program for school administrators. The Nova Program has come under attack, most recently in the November, 1973, *Phi Delta Kappan*, as a "diploma mill" or a "cheap" doctorate. Those interested in the controversy are directed to Nova's response (in the February, 1974, issue of the same magazine) by Dr. Donald P. Mitchell, director of Nova's National Ed.D. Program for Educational Leaders.

That Ed.D. Program describes itself in this fashion:

> The Nova University National Ed.D. Program for Educational Leaders — a new program for improving leadership in the elementary and secondary schools of the United States is designed to:
>
> • develop persons already in administrative roles in

the schools to assure that leadership improvements attained by candidates are felt in the schools immediately — and not add to the oversupply of trained persons for jobs that probably will not exist.

- focus on real-life situations and real job problems by using the schools as real laboratories — and not by pulling participants out of the system to spend time on university campuses and then be reintroduced through artificial "internships."
- make maximum use of the top talents of outstanding scholars and practitioners drawn from the universities and educational systems of the entire nation — and not presume that any single university or system in isolation is able to provide the level and diversity of talent needed.
- provide a national point of view through systematic interaction with those from other areas and backgrounds to mitigate the provincialism now present in local school systems and local universities — and not to reinforce inbred attitudes.
- work through a supportive mechanism — the cluster (both local and national) — where candidates aid one another in a professional manner — and not encourage competition in isolation for individual trophies.
- operate a total program involving a significant number of peers in both individual and group efforts — and not bits and pieces where each person alone shops around from university to university.
- provide support and help to participants beyond the period of actual involvement in graduate work — and not communicate only for alumni funding events.
- assure its financial continuance as a program by providing its essential elements through the tuition paid by its working candidates — and not depend upon the whims and fancies of governmental or philanthropic groups' support for survival.

- offer a unique national laboratory for the research and development interets of the participants, local and state authorities, foundations and others interested in the improvement of the schools, by keeping the emphasis on growth and change throughout the system — and not by placing a research cachet on existing systems.

- keep testing whether the program is fulfilling its purposes in the real world — and not assume that meeting standards in treatises based on theories is the only road to credibility.

Nova University attained its accredited status at the end of 1971 from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. The Southern Association had spent three years studying "non-traditional study programs" and thus was receptive to external degree proposals in December, 1971. The program was announced to the education field in January 1972. By June of 1972 eleven clusters were in operation. There were 31 at the end of 1973.

Among the requirements for successful completion of the Nova Ed.D. Program are the following: each participant must demonstrate competency in each of eight substantive areas. Participants are helped to develop their competencies in these areas through all-day seminars with National Lecturers, specially prepared study guides, local cluster activities, and study group activities; they must also devote a great deal of time to independent study.

The study areas are designed to provide participants an opportunity to gain conceptual skills and substantive understanding that will assist them in providng leadership to schools and school systems. The primary goal of improving the leadership of school administrators provides a rationale for content and pedagogy associated with each study area. Similarly, all persons seeking graduate preparation who are interested in a career as a basic researcher or specialist in education technology, for example, will find other graduate programs more appropriate.

Formal instruction in the program is provided by National Lecturers. Work in each study area lasts three months and includes three all-day seminars with National Lecturers. The Senior National Lecturer in each study area is responsible for designing the area of study, identifying and monitoring the Associate Lecturers, and evaluating the participants.

While the lecturers present much substantive information, they emphasize development of perspectives and understanding that help the cluster and participants to move ahead on their own. Local clusters and individual participants have much opportunity to shape their own learning experiences in each study area. They inform lecturers of foci within the study area especially relevant to the cluster; they use special cluster funds to involve local experts in the instructional program; they develop or purchase special materials or equipment and they use one another as a resources by forming task-oriented study groups.

Participants are formally evaluated on the basis of examinations, projects, or papers. The common characteristic of the evaluation procedure is that they emphasize analytic, interpretative, and conceptual skills rather than information recall. Instruction and evaluation procedures are increasingly process-oriented. When appropriate however, participants may test out of a given study area by working out a suitable evaluation procedure with the Senior National Lecturer.

A Pass-No Pass System. Each participant must pass all eight areas. In no more than two of the eight areas, under all special circumstances, a participant may request an alternative evaluation from the Nova staff. In such cases it is the participant's responsibility to propose and justify the alternative procedure, and to complete it to the satisfaction of the Nova staff.

The alternative evaluation procedure is not easier than a regular exam; it must result in persuasive evidence of a participant's competency in the study area. There is no stigma attached to success through an alternative examination.

3. The National Program in Educational Leadership

Mid-Career training is the approach taken by the National Program in Educational Leadership (NPEL), which began in 1970, and is supported by the U.S. Office of Education. NPEL seeks to recruit into education those who have already been successful in other fields but now want to work full time in education. Five universities, a community college, and the North Carolina State Department of Education are the participating institutions: Ohio State University, Claremont Graduate School, City University of New York, the University of Texas at Austin, Northwestern University, and Navajo Community College (Chinle, Arizona). Ohio State is the coordinating institution.

Approximately five candidates are selected annually at each institution for a two-year program. Stipend (up to $18,750) is based on past salary and need. NPEL believes that after two years of study, the Fellows will be able to obtain meaningful positions in education, though not necessarily as superintendents.

According to Creamer and Feld, in a pamphlet "Some Innovations in the Training of Educational Leaders," (The Conference Board, New York, 1972, p. 49), NPEL is not a degree-granting program, though it is university-affiliated. Because the student involved is a mature professional, the content of the program for each individual varies depending on his background and interests. He is assisted in this planning by the director in charge of the program at each center. All facilities of the educational center involved are available to the Fellows. However, they are encouraged to arrange interviews and internships at various educational and community agencies and organizations. Fellows meet to discuss their experiences and suggest possible interviews with persons who can widen their knowledge of education and provide them with new perspectives.

Because no degree is to be awarded, and because the Fellows will not have "gone through the ranks" before entering the educational system, great effort is being made to obtain the support of various people within the system, to keep them informed of the process of NPEL, and to solicit their ideas on how to improve and strengthen it.

4. The Education Professions Development Act

Part F of the Education Professions Development Act of 1967 (EPDA) provides for leadership training in the vocational education field. Eighteen universities have set up programs and qualified for federal funds. The stress has been on diversity of studies, including liberal arts training, and on internships. A typical program is described below:

> The doctoral program at Rutgers is divided into four segments: the Core, Selected Area Course work, the Internship, and the Dissertation.
>
> The Core segment consists of six basic areas: vocational-technical education, educational foundations, psychology, sociology, economics, and research methods.

Most students in the Rutgers program attend on a part-time basis, but EPDA Fellows are required to be full-time students. For the 1970-71 school year, 17 EPDA doctoral candidates were chosen. As a whole, however, there are 128 students in the Rutgers doctoral program.

EPDA Fellows receive a stipend of $3,500 per academic year (maximum of three years) plus an allowance of $400 for each dependent. Additional funds are available for summer study. Each university in the program receives $2,500 per year plus $60C for summer work for each student. This amount is reduced by any tuition charges paid by the student. (Creamer and Feld, pp. 48-49)

5. The National Level Internship Program

The University Council on Educational Administration (UCEA) sponsors a National Level Internship Program, which it thus describes:

The National Level Internship Program is currently accepting candidates for the 1974-75 academic year, which will be the second year of operation for the program. The NLIP is sponsored by a special project grant of the Division of Training Programs, Bureau for Education of the Handicapped, United States Office of Education.

The program has several objectives. They are as follows:

1. To achieve a national perspective on education
2. To acquire understandings of change strategies used by national agencies
3. To participate in change strategies and other functions performed within national agencies
4. To observe government and private agencies interact at the national level
5. To assist individuals in clarifying their career goals in terms of a national perspective

A theme underlying the entire National Level Internship Program is the integration of the fields of general and special education. During the last four years, UCEA has become involved in a consortium of departments of general and special education in universities across

the country. The consortium is designed to assist integration of the two fields to the extent that departments of special education can learn more about the field of administration and departments of general education can become aware of the problems of the special educator.

Candidates for the National Level Internship Program are drawn from both general and special education or related fields, and are expected to have completed or be near completion of the doctorate in these areas. In order to facilitate the integration notion of underlying theme of the program, interns who are receiving their doctorates in general education administration are offered the opportunity to be placed in agencies having a major responsibility for special education. Interns who are receiving doctorates in special education may also be placed in organizations which have a more general leadership orientation. Special education agencies which have or are going to participate in the program are the Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped, the Council for Exceptional Children, the National Association of State Directors of Special Education, and the Secretary's Commission on Mental Retardation. General education agencies that have or will participate in the program are the Council of Great City Schools, the National Institute for Education; the American Association of School Administrators, the Association of Chief State School Officers, and the National School Public Relations Association.

Interns are provided the opportunity for periodic seminars that supplement their internship experience. These seminars help interns to acquire learnings external to the agencies with which they are involved, as well as provide the interns the opportunity to share experiences along the line of integration of general and special education administration.

The evaluation of the program is being conducted by Dr. C. Brooklyn Derr of Harvard University. Dr. Derr has conceptualized an organizational evaluation design which consists of both formative and summative evaluation. Formative evaluation is defined as ongoing information which is constantly and periodically collected, analyzed and fed back into the system in order to help develop and maintain consistency or congruence of expectations between interns and their supervisors. This type of evaluation is often overlooked within the normal evaluation designs of many programs. Summative evaluation is defined as more long-term terminal types of evaluation and is more typical of the common evaluation design.

6. There are also several new, university-based programs: a "university without walls" at Fairleigh Dickinson and Harvard's Administration and Social Policy Programs deserve special mention, as does Yale's Mid-Career Program in City School Administration. The latter is a one-year non-degree program for between 10 and 20 high-level administrators who receive leaves of absence and up to $15,000 (leave pay and stipend combined). The Kellogg Foundation has provided a five-year grant with the expectation that Yale will provide from its own funds as the grant decreases. Creamer and Feld describe the program:

> Half of the program is tailored to the needs of the individual student using university resources. The other half (2 courses) is a common program involving all students. Common Course 1 is a colloquium — extending over the year — in which major problems in city schools are discussed. Lecturers from inside and outside the university speak and readings are assigned. The lectures are multidisciplinary, involving such fields as psychology, economics, philosophy, sociology, political science, and law. Common Course 2 is an intensive seminar each semester consisting of all aspects of one topic . . .
>
> For the individualized portion of the program students take over available seminars at the university according to their particular interests. The candidates come into the program with some problems from their own school system and these are to be worked out during the time of study. In this connection they meet to discuss Advanced Problems in Administration. (Creamer and Feld, p. 57).

Erwin Miklos, in "Training-in-Common for Educational, Public, and Business Administrators", (UCEA Series on Administrator Preparation, Danville, Illinois, 1972, pp. 40-43), discusses several joint programs and makes special reference to Stanford University's Joint Program in Educational Administration, a venture involving the Graduate School of Business and the School of Education. This program, and roughly similar Business-Public Administration combinations at Cornell University and York University in Toronto, offer a core of common courses. Miklos also discusses, with reserve, some management programs that claim to be preparing people for careers in public and private organizations. He puts new programs at Carnegie-Mellon (1971), Yale (1971) and the MIT Sloan School of Management (1971) in this category.

7. A Program to Retrain Principals

The Carnegie Foundation is underwriting a two-year program for the retraining of principals in Massachusetts. The Educational Development Corporation (EDC) of Newton hopes to train about 60 principals each year with a $350,000 grant, while at the same time building a base of public support for the program. Dr. Charles Brown, the project manager, feels that the program can do what the universities have failed to do. "It's unconscionable that schools of education cast their graduates adrift, but they do. Perhaps the schools of education aren't capable of meeting the needs of school administrators." Brown has experience and perspective: he worked at Ford on the design of the Seven University Project and then directed the initial attempt at their cooperation.

Brown feels that principals need a good deal of help, although he stresses that the EDC project will not tell principals how they ought to be re-trained. "We will only be working with principals who want help. He or she will work out with us the direction the program will take." Brown envisions that principals will want to chart "adaptive" plans for the future, to study and learn from the past, and to cope with the contradictions of being a public and a private figure simultaneously. "Principals live by crisis management," Brown observed. "They rarely have the time or the personnel to allow them to look through problems at the larger picture. Some don't have the inclination, it's true, but we want to help those who do." (Personal interview, July, 1973).

8. The National Academy for School Executives

The AASA's National Academy for School Executives describes itself in this fashion:

> The Academy operates upwards of fifty to sixty programs of varying length each year. Generally speaking, these programs are directed by a member of the NASE staff; about a third are directed each by the NASE consultant, William Curtis and the NASE associate director, Richard Morrow; of the remaining third, the programs are about equally divided among the NASE director, Louie Zeyen, NASE interns who serve with us on a one-year assignment, and a few "outside" directors, such as Forrest Conner, recently retired executive secretary of AASA.
>
> The Academy opened the doors on its first sessions in the fall of 1968, and since that time the Academy has operated 152 programs for 4,414 participants.

Of those participants, a little more than a quarter are school superintendents. Initially — in 1968 through 1970 — the percentage of participants who were acting school superintendents hovered around 40 per cent. Since we adopted a new, broader mailing list in 1972, the percentage of superintendents has dropped to about 26 per cent, and the percentage of other categories of administrators has increased.

The Academy operates three different kinds of workshops varying in length. The most common type of program offered by the Academy is its Seminar which lasts from Monday morning to Friday noon. The cost of a seminar to a member of AASA is $225 for registration, materials and instruction. In addition, the Academy also offers role institutes for men and women new to their positions, skills institutes for administrators who seek to develop a specific skill, and orientation institutes for administrators who wish a broadly sketched understanding of a major issue in education. Each of these institutes is one and a half or two and a half days in length, and the costs vary slightly from $100 to $150 to AASA members. Again, that fee includes costs of registration, instruction and materials.

Beginning in early 1974, the Academy will also offer one-day programs designed to take very quick looks at emerging problems in education. These will be substantially less in cost, although we cannot at this moment accurately indicate the exact level of the cost.

Normally costs for attending the Academy program are paid by the administrator's own school district. There are instances where these costs have been absorbed through federal project funds, or in some cases, have been paid personally by the man himself. Normally, however, the district absorbs expenses.

APPENDIX B: THE SUPERINTENDENT'S NETWORK: SELECTED SITUATIONS

SITUATION I

BACKGROUND: Assume that you are the superintendent of a school system and you have an assistant superintendent who is performing well in most areas of his job, but his achievement in one area is below standard. Assume that you and he in previous discussions have agreed upon specific output goals, (e.g., the interaction of new curriculum units across the system, inservice teacher training, etc.). These were discussed carefully and plans were made to achieve these goals with agreement on the step-by-step process involved. About a month ago, you met with your assistant and found that he was not attaining the goals. They were again discussed and revised slightly downward, and there was an agreement that they could be achieved. You now learn, through an internal reporting system, that the goals are being missed significantly. You are now talking to the man and he has said that he has a variety of problems in achieving the goals, but there really is no change in his situation. He just doesn't know why he is unable to get the results and expresses real concern. You as the superintendent (system) must select a strategy to deal with the assistant superintendent (environment) regarding the successful performance of a variety of functions (goal) and, while this process has been going on, completion of at least one of the tasks has become urgent.

RESPONSES TO SITUATION I

RESPONSE A: Accept the fact that it's a tough job and everybody hits rough spots. Try to give him support and reassurance and, at the same time, show a willingness to explore other ways in which he might strive toward goal achievement.

RESPONSE B: Dig more deeply into the specific causes for difficulties. Try to build joint understanding of what's needed. Explore any additional alternatives that are uncovered. Strive for commitment toward improvements.

RESPONSE C: Point out to the man he should continue to develop alternatives and necessary plans to move back into line with your jointly agreed-upon objectives and also make it clear that some kind of step will have to be taken if improvement doesn't begin to emerge. (That is, depending upon the specific case, point out that he may be

transferred to a less sensitive job, *or* into an area where he has more chance to develop before being assigned additional responsibility, *or* in an extreme situation, he might even be terminated.

RESPONSE D: Use your own experience and any data available to point out ways in which he might improve and achieve his goal. Illustrate to him some of the advantages of new and better approaches to the problems he faces. Point out some of the possible benefits to him over the long pull.

SITUATION II

BACKGROUND: The Board of Education in a small, primarily upper middle-class community has decided to institute a program of community use of school facilities. It develops over the course of the year that several things happened. One is a severe cut in the budget allocations as a result of a defeat of the bond issue. Secondly, there's quite a bit of social unrest in the community, with some violence breaking out, particularly some of an interracial nature in a small downtown area. Also, the initial efforts at this kind of program have not been well received by quite a few parents who at the moment are "up tight" about the violence. As the Principal of the largest school facility you have been asked to advise the Board (System) on the most appropriate course of immediate action for it to take with regard to the new program (goal) in this community (environment).

RESPONSES TO SITUATION II

RESPONSE A: I don't think it makes much sense to push forward with this at this time. We are short of funds, there is unrest in the community, and some people are expressing concern about a climate of violence. Rather than make a big issue about expanded use of school facilities we probably should face realities and let it lie for a while. If and when funds are made available we may want to reopen the issue and push for the adoption of our plan.

RESPONSE B: If we let people in the community dictate when and what programs to develop, pretty soon we won't be able to initiate anything. I recognize that there is some public unrest and that we are faced with financial problems. However, moving ahead with the program will in fact provide us with an opportunity to build better understanding with the community and the interrelationships between them and ourselves.

RESPONSE C: As usual we are forgetting to think about the kids themselves and their parents. Why not work with them in trying to solve this problem? We might attempt to problem-solve with them about the lack of funds and the causes and realities of community unrest. My own suspicion is that a useful program could be developed out of this. Let's not rigidly stick to what we are proposing to do, nor give the impression that we are giving up on a mutually advantageous proposition.

RESPONSE D: Under normal circumstances I think your program proposal is the right one, but there are more critical efforts needed now to resolve some of the conflicts in the community. We literally do not have the money to provide the kind of bus service or back-up funds for community activities, or for tours and trips. I simply suggest that we not create a big flap over an issue that is probably going to blow over in a week or so anyway. I don't see much point in attempting to engage with the community or the kids and risk escalating the already touchy situation that exists.

SITUATION III

BACKGROUND: A study group comprised of parents, elementary school student representatives, teachers and university personnel (system), has been assigned responsibility for developing a program called "Getting to Know Your Community" (goal) for implementation 9 months from now. The program is to be designed for youngsters between 9 and 11 years of age, although it might be used with older or younger students later on (environment). One member of the groups suggests that "getting to know your community" means moving out into the town or city and learning more about its libraries, its public institutions, its roads, buildings, etc. Someone else points out that the program might also be used to learn something about geography and economics. In attempting to structure the program, group members begin to express how they feel about the group of children who might be involved. As the chairman of the group, which strategy do you think the new program should reflect in its approach to the students?

RESPONSES TO SITUATION III

RESPONSE A: Children of this age don't have very much information about the community on any organized basis. I think we should carefully set up specific expectations and goals and then develop

projects designed to fill in the gaps that are likely to exist in the group and at the same time let them build upon what they already know.

RESPONSE B: Today's kids know an awful lot. They watch television, they're out in the community all the time. I think we ought to let them specify what they're interested in and then work with them to arrange projects including tours and visits to fit in with their interests.

RESPONSE C: I'm a little uneasy about having this group settle the major aspects of the program and the design of what should be done. It seems to me that all of us have lived in the community for a while and that each of us has had unique experiences and knowledge which could be used in the situation. For instance, we might want to suggest that the group go somewhere that it has never been aware of or encountered. I think all of us should try to take part in determining a variety of ways on how this program might be organized and developed. Some of these ideas could then be presented to the students themselves so that they can respond and work with us to develop a program that represents a truly joint effort.

RESPONSE D: I think we're making too much out of this program. I don't think we can expect the students to be enthusiastic about a program that may seem irrelevant to them. If you think back on your own lives, you probably remember how most of us had to really learn from experience and then pretty much decide on how we are going to tune in or out of the community.

SITUATION IV

BACKGROUND: A white secondary school principal has recently been transferred from a predominantly Anglo school to a predominantly black school. Although the teaching staff is still largely Anglo, the proportion of black teachers has been increasing. Early in his career at the school, the principal has received a number of subtle, and some not so subtle, signals regarding concerns of his teaching staff about his responses to the black students. One of the Anglo teachers confronted him with: "You'll have to lower your expectations here; this is not the same as a white school."

RESPONSES TO SITUATION IV

RESPONSE A: There are standards to be met. If we need remedial sessions for students, we'll have them. If special sessions are needed

to help the staff better to cope with any particular problems, we'll arrange for them. I think we have an obligation to attain standards established for the school system.

RESPONSE B: Before taking any specific action, I'd like to get more information about student performance, standards that we've been applying, teacher expectations, and where there seem to be problems. Then we can consider remedial programs and the whole question of appropriate standards.

RESPONSE C: The school seems to have been running well so I'm not inclined to change what all of you have been doing.

RESPONSE D: I want to get more information about student performance and teacher expectations. If the staff thinks that the students need to be judged according to somewhat lower standards, I can accept that—given the disadvantaged environnent from which so many of our students have come.

SITUATION V

BACKGROUND: You are the school superintendent (system) in a major metropolitan city (environment). In similar size communities throughout the nation, there have been numerous instances of political pressures, court actions and/or demonstrations to bring about changes in treatment for members of minority groups (goal). For a variety of reasons, some of which are not clear to you, there has been very little action of this sort aimed at your school system. Part of the reason may be that both the city, and you in your school system, have built truly professional and competent staffs which have good reputations. However, there may be some factors relatively unique to your local minority groups which you are aware of.

Keeping in mind both the national trend and your system's experience, you would:

RESPONSES TO SITUATION V

RESPONSE A: Do nothing at this time regarding your personnel policies and practices.

RESPONSE B: Keep alert to any signs of a similar pattern beginning in your city to respond to any incidents before they develop into a larger issue.

RESPONSE C: Quietly initiate an internal study, using only your own immediate staff, to review your policies and procedures with specific attention being given to recommendations for changing policies so as to avoid issues which have raised problems elsewhere.

RESPONSE D: Contact key and knowledgeable community representatives, including those from minority group organizations, to discuss whether a joint citizens and departmental audit and review of personnel policies and practices would be desirable.

APPENDIX C: THE DESIGN AND INFORMATION CENTER OF PROJECT OPEN

The Design and Information Center (DAIC) of PROJECT OPEN provides certain kinds of strategic information, and ways of securing such information, to PROJECT OPEN networks, especially during the initial stage of each network's development. Unlike other information centers, this one is not a collection of solutions to be matched with the perceived problems of educators. It is not an ERIC-like repository of reports of research and other experience related to education. Rather, it is information — both subjective and objective — coming from the "action research" of each specific network and for strategic use in the action training of a network.

The kinds of facts dealt with by the DAIC may be technical (e.g., demographic data on an ethnic minority), but are more likely to reveal the points of sensitivity between two systems in interaction, the points of resistance, the points of immediate and future action. For network participants who share a common role (principals of newly integrated schools, for example) the DAIC might well supply data — including individual and group perceptions — on unifying the group, identifying possible courses of action, confirming and legitimizing felt needs, and increasing the willingness to take risks. Very particularly, the information system seeks to facilitate the examination of programmatic and behavioral alternatives.

DAIC information is viewed and used as an energizing force in the networks to strengthen the participant systems' power and courage to act.*

The DAIC does not disparage or underestimate the usefulness of the usual hard research data. Its posture however, is that there is an overload of such information on many pedagogical issues (e.g., the report of a successful demonstration elsewhere) and that to attempt to use it at points of potential conflict will divert attention from the larger issue: designing strategies of interaction among systems which are normally closed to each other but which, nevertheless, depend upon each other.

*The concept of information as energy can be clarified by examination of "Weight Watchers" and "Alcoholics Anonymous." In each of these successful "networks" it is information, strategically exchanged, which provides the energy needed by the participants to prevail. A more powerful example is the immense, uncontrollable energy of rising expectations, which has its source in the instant exchange, by TV and other media, of information about how the other half (both halves) lives, and what everyone, everywhere is getting away with.

The word "design" is included in the name of the Center because it is through probing into the initiating system and its immediate environment and constituencies that the Network gets started. The first step may be a tenative survey, by questionnaire or interview, to reveal points of concern, sensitivity, and resistance. It may, for safety's sake, deal at first with a fictitious case study or a distant analogous situation rather than with the real system or systems. The surveys may probe at first only within the protecting boundaries of systems which are homogeneous by virtue of the identity of role of all Network participants. Later, the surveys will probe other systems that interface with the original system and are in some degree in conflict with it. This is the "heterogeneous" mode.

Thus, the design and information system of PROJECT OPEN provides data of special kinds to facilitate and accelerate the Networking process, i.e., the process by which systems learn how to learn continuously about themselves and about the systems and constituencies which impinge upon them. The goal for all its readjustment: self-knowledge and self-evolution, rather than self-defense and confrontation. A system — a person, an institution, a government — is nourished, energized, only outside itself.

The Design and Information Center is not meant to serve the Networks of PROJECT OPEN throughout the entire course of each Network's existence. It will help to initiate a network, help it to achieve its own design (strategies); thereafter each network is expected to do its own probing in response to its own needs for information and interaction.

The DAIC is at present operated by Educational Systems and Designs, Inc., in Westport, Connecticut, under subcontract to grants made by the U.S. Office of Education. It has done surveys and other probing related to specific networks, by questionnaire and by interview, with some of the latter presented on film. Much of the accumulated information is potentially useful to other networks. Inquiries are invited.

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